# *Kar gliṅ Źi khro*



## A *Tantric Buddhist* Concept

cnws

Henk Blezer

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The three *maṇḍala-s* depicted on pp.83, 84, and 131, were reproduced from Tibetan art-calendars published by Papyrus Verlag GmBH Hamburg (April 1981-, February 1991-, and November 1985-pages successively). Since the house ceased publishing no further credits or references can be provided here.
I gratefully acknowledge the financial support received from the "Stichting Leids Universiteits-Fonds" (LUF) in the printing-cost for the reproduction of these *maṇḍala-s*.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge a travel-grant received from the "Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research" (NWO), which enabled me to study and work in Dharamsala, (H.P.) India, from October 1996 until January 1997. Most of the *Buddhist* and especially "*Bon*"-material gathered during my stay in India could not be used for this publication anymore, it will be utilised in a follow-up research.

Last but not least I, should like to express my appreciation for the inspiration and knowledgeable assistance received from my brother, Frans Blezer, when planning and designing the electronic version of this thesis.

## Further Errata to *Kar gliṅ Źi khro*, A *Tantric Buddhist* Concept

### Typographical errors that you might want to know of

| | |
|---|---|
| p.2, n.7, l.4, | read "can be found" or "is to be found" instead of "can to be found" |
| p.16, n.83, l.4, | read "there" instead of "here" |
| p.17, n.85, subn.2, l.2, | read "*pañcopādānaskandha-s*" instead of "*pañcopādānaskhandha-s*" |
| p.20, n.95, l.38, | read "tamisrāyā" instead of "misrāyā" |
| p.24, l.3, | read "chapter" instead of "paragraph" |
| p.24, n.103, l.4, | read "the" instead of "he" |
| p.24, n.103, l.20, | read "alabhamānaḥ" instead of "alabhamānāḥ" |
| p.25, l.33, | read "above" instead of "below" |
| p.31, n.133, l.4, | read "and the last chapter of" instead of "in the last chapter" |
| p.40, n.190, l.4, | read "not to confuse with" instead of "not to confuse" |
| p.40, n.192, l.4, | read "pp.914-917" instead of "pp.114-117" |
| p.103, n.298, l.4, | read "eighteenth" instead of "eighth" |
| p.108, l.30, | read "or the unity" instead of "(or) the revered unity" |
| p.108, l.31, | read "than just the revered host" instead of "than the revered host" |
| p.108, l.41, | read "diverse sounds" instead of "divers sounds" |
| p.126, l.4, | read "Govinda (1956), and Snellgrove (1957)" instead of "and Govinda (1956), Snellgrove (1957)" |
| bibliography, p.203, | add: "Dowman, K. (1994) trsl., The Flight of the Garuda, Teachings of the Dzokchen Tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, Boston 1994." |
| index, p.232, l.33, | read "sīlabbataparāmāso" instead of "sīlabattaparamāso" |

### Typos and deviations from orthography as they occur in source-texts used

| | |
|---|---|
| p.8, n.44, l.5, | read "abhinirvartayann" instead of "abhinirvarttayann" |
| p.9, n.44, l.10, | read "kleśāvedhena" instead of "kśeśāvedhena" |
| p.19, n.93, l.6, | read "savyā-" instead of "avyā-"? |
| p.20, n.95, l.37, | read "'bhinirvartate" instead of "'bhinirvarttate" |
| p.20, n.95, l.38, | read "śubhakāriṇas" instead of "aśubhakāriṇas"? |
| p.22, n.98, l.21, | read "na pratihanyate" instead of "pratihanyate"? |
| p.23, n.102, l.9, | read "vartate" instead of "varttate" |

**Typos you would not want to be bothered about**

| | |
|---|---|
| p.ix, | add page-number |
| p.1, n.4, l.4, | read "print-out" instead of "out print" |
| p.2, n.10, l.2, | read "group" instead of "groups" |
| p.2, n.10, l.3, | read "table of contents" instead of "Table of Contents" |
| p.2, n.11, l.1, | read "29.32" instead of "29 32" |
| p.3, n.18, l.1, | read "Wrathful (Deities)" instead of "Wrathful(Deities)" |
| p.9, n.44, subn.6, l.2, | read "bhavānupapattir yo" instead of "bhavānupapattiryo" |
| p.11, n.54, l.2, | N.B. 8 point size in the original, now reduced 80% |
| p.12, n.55, subn.1, l.1, | increase "(voir *inf.*, note 5); *Kośa*, III, 14." one point in (original) size |
| p.18, n.93, l.2, | read "p.122)" instead of "p.122.)" |
| p.20, n.95, ll.31&33, | read "'ntarā-" instead of "`ntarā" |
| p.23, n.102, l.18, | read "p.122)" instead of "p.122.)" |
| p.31, n.139, l.1, | read "Orofino (1985)" instead of "Orofino(1985)" |
| p.34, n.157, l.2, | read "p.130a)." instead of "p.130a)" |
| p.41, n.197, l.1, | read "61," instead of "61." |
| p.41, n.199, l.1, | read "61," instead of "61.," |
| p.56, n.214, l.2, | read "number" instead of "numbers" |
| p.67, l.43, | read "*Anuyoga rdzogs rim*" instead of "*Anuyoga rdzogs, rim*" |
| p.82, | add header, top right (landscape): *KAR GLIṄ ŹI KHRO* |
| p.95, l.10, | read "karmamaṇḍala)" instead of "karmamaṇḍala" |
| p.96, ll.31-32, | replace the hyphen in *Tathāgata-s* for a non-breaking hyphen |
| p.104, n.302, l.6, | read "*gŹi sku gsum*" instead of "*gŹi'i sku gsum*" |
| p.109, l.21, | read "sound, light and rays" instead of "sound light and rays" |
| p.116, n.324, l.1, | read "p.31." instead of "p.31)." |
| p.121, n.353, l.1, | read "ང །" instead of "ང།" |
| p.122, n.371, l.1, | read "ང །" instead of "ང།" |
| bibliography, p.178, | interrupt underline for descend of letters in Specific Texts concerning *'Pho ba* |

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N.B. work-editions (Appendix II) available on floppy-disks.

## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| *AbhKBh* | *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (see Appendix I) |
| *(N)AN* | *Aṅguttaranikāya* (see Appendix I) |
| *AS* | *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (see Appendix I) |
| *ASBh* | *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* (see Appendix I) |
| *BoBh* | *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (see Appendix I) |
| *(N)DN* | *Dīghanikāya* (see Appendix I) |
| f. | and the following |
| ff. | and further |
| IASWR | Institute for Advanced Studies in World Religions |
| *(N)Kv* | *Kathāvatthu* (see Appendix I) |
| *Kv-a* | *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* (see Appendix I) |
| l. | line |
| *Lal* | *Lalitavistara* (see Appendix I) |
| ll. | lines |
| *(N)MN* | *Majjhimanikāya* (see Appendix I) |
| *Mvu* | *Mahāvastu* (see Appendix I) |
| *N* | Nālandā-Devanāgarī-Pāli-Series (see Appendix I) |
| n. | note |
| *Nett* | *Nettippakaraṇa* (see Appendix I) |
| nn. | notes |
| p. | page |
| *Paṭis* | *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (see Appendix I) |
| *Pj* I | *Khuddhakapāṭha & Paramatthajotikā* I (see Appendix I) |
| pp. | pages |
| PTT | Peking edition of the Tibetan *Tripiṭaka* (see Appendix I) |
| *(N)Pp* | *Puggalapaññatti* (see Appendix I) |
| r | recto side |
| *(N)SN* | *Saṃyuttanikāya* (see Appendix I) |
| *Skt.* | *Saṃskṛt* |
| *Spk* | *Sāratthappakāsinī* (see Appendix I) |
| SUS | *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* (see Appendix I) |
| Tib. | Tibetan |
| *Ud-a* | *Paramatthadīpanī Udānaṭṭhakathā* (see Appendix I) |
| v | verso side |
| *Vin* | *Vinayapiṭaka* (see Appendix I) |
| *Vism* | *Visuddhimagga* (see Appendix I) |
| *Y* | *Yogācārabhūmi* (see Appendix I) |

## Transliterations

Tibetan transliteration alphabet:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ka* | *kha* | *ga* | *ṅa* |
| *ca* | *cha* | *ja* | *ña* |
| *ta* | *tha* | *da* | *na* |
| *pa* | *pha* | *ba* | *ma* |
| *tsa* | *tsha* | *dza* | |
| *wa* | *źa* | *za* | *'a* |
| *ya* | *ra* | *la* | |
| *ṣa* | *sa* | *ha* | *a* |

Special signs used:

| | |
|---|---|
| *śad*: | ǀ and ǀǀ |
| *gter ma śad*: | *ɾ* |
| prefix to *ya*: | *(g)-ya* |

*Saṃskṛt* transliteration alphabet:

Consonants:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ka* | *kha* | *ga* | *gha* | *ṅa* |
| *ca* | *cha* | *ja* | *jha* | *ña* |
| *ṭa* | *ṭha* | *ḍa* | *ḍha* | *ṇa* |
| *ta* | *tha* | *da* | *dha* | *na* |
| *pa* | *pha* | *ba* | *bha* | *ma* |
| *ya* | *ra* | *la* | *va* | |
| *śa* | *ṣa* | *sa* | | |
| *ha* | | | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| *visarga*: | *ḥ* |
| *anusvāra*: | *ṃ* |

Vowels:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a* | *ā* | | |
| *i* | *ī* | *e* | *ai* |
| *u* | *ū* | *o* | *au* |
| *ṛ* | *ṝ* | | |
| *ḷ* | | | |

Special signs used:

| | |
|---|---|
| *avagraha*: | ' |
| *daṇḍa*: | ǀ and ǀǀ |

## Introduction

The research presented here focuses on four main issues, the first three of which will be discussed in the first chapter, which has the character of a historical survey:

1.1 Developments in speculations concerning an intermediate state *antarābhava*(, *bar ma do'i srid pa*) and *bar do*;
1.2 Developments in the concept of peaceful and wrathful deities (*źi khro*);
1.3 The conflation of speculations regarding *bar do* and *źi khro* in a new *bar do*, a *bon ñid*/ *źi khro bar do* ("*Bon*") or *chos ñid bar do*[1] (*Buddhist*).

The fourth point of investigation is discussed in the second chapter, in which I shall take stock of some of the most current

2 Traditional "interpretations" of *źi khro-maṇḍala-s*.

Making use of these "interpretations" and the insights gained from the historical survey, in the third chapter I shall make

3 An attempt at "translating" the concept of the *kar glin źi khro* (the *źi khro* according to *Karma glin pa*).
4 A conclusion, and
A summary in the Dutch language.

Several bibliographies (Appendix I), indexes, and other utilities are appended to this. Work-editions of (most of) the texts that are necessary for reading this thesis and that are not generally accessible are available on the floppy-disks included[2] (Appendix II). Note well, that these are only provisional collations of the several block-prints and manuscripts consulted that have not yet been exhaustively checked.

In this introduction I should furthermore like to mention the most relevant and frequently used texts.
Of central importance to this research is the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo*[3]. This most probably is the earliest *Buddhist* testimony for an explicit and elaborate description of *źi khro* in a separate *bar do*, here called *chos ñid bar do*[4]. This

[1] The *bar do* of (the confrontation with) reality as it is.

[2] They are presented in MSWord (6.0c) for Windows-format; a MSWindows-install-routine, True-Type fonts and a Word-viewer are included on the disks. Macintosh-formats are available, they can be provided on request. All brand- and product-names are trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective holders.

[3] "The Great 'Released by Hearing(-Text)': A Clarification of (or Reminder when in) the *Chos ñid Bar do*", some editions feature *gsol 'debs* (prayer) instead of *gsal 'debs* (guidance, clarification, reminder?) in their title.

[4] There are discussions of a *chos ñid bar do* extant in certain *rDzogs chen*-texts, some of which might or might not be earlier than the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (the first reliable dates (compiler) point to the fourteenth century also), though *maṇḍala-s* of deities are mentioned, their appearance is not described at length. For a listing of some *rDzogs chen*-texts see the database out print in Appendix I of relevant texts from the *sÑin thig ya bźi*, compiled by *Kloṅ chen pa dri med 'od zer* (1306/8-1363). And see especially one of the texts presented by Orofino (1990), the *Ñi ma daṅ zla ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsaṅ ba'i rgyud*, to be found in the *rÑiṅ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*-section of the *Bima sñiṅ thig* (she refers to Prats here, Contributo allo Studio Biografico dei Primi gTer-ston (= Instituto Universitario Orientale,

text forms part of most of the text-cycles that are designated as *Bar do'i thos grol*[5] or *Kar gliṅ źi khro*[6]. The individual cycles vary greatly as to their contents and compilation dates. There seems to be a group, though, of about sixteen or seventeen texts that formed part of the earlier *Bar do thos grol*-cycles, the oldest core of which was allegedly discovered by the *gter ston*[7] *Karma gliṅ pa* (fourteenth century AD?[8]) and that appear in most editions of the *Kar gliṅ źi khro*[9]. I used seven block-prints of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, three of which are made from the same printing-blocks[10].

Significant and possibly earlier reference-material than the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is to be found in a "*Bon*"-text, which is also referred to as a "*bar do thos grol*"-text, the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo*. A version of this text appears in a "*Bon*"-collection of *źi khro*-texts called *Źi khro sgrub skor*[11], a collection of texts which was mainly drawn from the *sPyi spuṅs*-cycles[12] and was compiled by abbot *Ñi ma bstan 'dzin* (1813-?). The *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo* is attributed to *Dran pa'i nam mkha'* (eighth century AD) and is said to be transmitted orally (read: aurally) as a so-called *sñan brgyud*, through his son *Tshe dbaṅ rig 'dzin* to *'Gro mgon dam pa raṅ grol* (1149-?).

Another version of this text appears under a different title, *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi thos grol las byaṅ bag chags raṅ grol*, in another "*Bon*"-collection of *źi khro*-texts called *dBaṅ ldan źu riṅ lugs źi khro'i sgrub skor*[13], a collection of *źi khro*-texts presenting the *Źu*-lineage of *Bon po bla ma-s*. This text, too, is attributed to *(sMan rgyal) Dam pa raṅ grol* (1149-?). It should be noted here that "*Bon*" should appear in quotation marks as far as this early period is concerned. The name "*Bon*" was applied by *Buddhists* after the event of official introduction of *Buddhist* traditions into Tibet to allegedly pre-*buddhist* Tibetan traditions that were nonetheless already strongly influenced by *Buddhist* doctrines[14].

Important reference-material for the descriptions of the *źi khro* as they are extant in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is available in a class of texts concerned with confession- and expiation-rituals that often bear the designation *na rag doṅ sprug(s)*

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Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor XVII), p.47, Napoli 1982), she translates the text on pp.30-59, and presents an edition on pp.105-126; she gives no precise dates.

[5] "The Great (Text-Cycle about) Being Released by Hearing (the Recitation of This *Thos grol*-Text) in relation to the *Bar do-s* (probably to be read as: when in the *Bar do-s*)"; or in brief: "The Great 'Released by Hearing' for the *Bar do-s*". For a discussion of the transmission of these cycles see Back (1987), pp.5ff..

[6] The *źi khro*-tradition according to *Karma gliṅ pa* (see the following). Cf. the *'Ja' tshon źi khro*, the *źi khro*-cycle according to the *gter ston 'Ja' tshon sñiṅ po* or *Las 'phro gliṅ pa* (1585-1656).

[7] A revealer of treasures, a person that is acknowledged to have brought to light texts and other objects that supposedly have been concealed for some time. This tradition of treasure (*gter ma*) and treasure finder (*gter ston*) is first and foremost met with in *rÑiṅ ma Buddhist* and *rDzogs chen*-circles. A presentation of traditional views about this phenomenon can to be found in Tulku Thondup Rinpoche (1986), pp.13f. and pp.57ff. and in Dargyay (1969) and (1977a), pp.85ff..

[8] For an attempt at dating the oldest kernel of the *Bar do'i thos grol*-cycles I should like to refer to Back (1987), pp.16ff..

[9] See Back (1987), pp.5ff., esp. p.10.

[10] For further details on these and other Tibetan collections mentioned in this study the reader is referred to the appropriate database print-outs concerning the discussed text or groups of texts in Appendix I, to enable quick reference, the appendix is preceded by a Table of Contents.

[11] Published in Delhi 1967, see Appendix I, the text is coded there as Karmay (1977) 29 32, Zogai 614, (T.124)

[12] See Karmay (1977), pp.32-36, esp. pp.34 & 36

[13] This compilation is said to be reproduced from a manuscript-collection from the library of the late *dPal tshul* by Sonam Dakpa and is published in two volumes, Delhi 1975, it is also available in the IASWR-microfiche-edition, SB 774.II.8.

[14] See e.g. Per Kværne (1972), pp.22ff..

in their titles, that is to say, they promise to save the contrite confessor from the abysmal depths of hell (literally: "to rend the depths of hell"). The oldest and most explicit text is called *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus*[15]. The text is presented as a translation from a *Saṃskṛt* text by the legendary saints *Padmasambhava* and *Vimalamitra* (eighth century AD?). The colophon further mentions the translators *sÑags Jñānakumāra* (eighth century AD) and *rMa rin chen mchog* (7??-836)[16]. I uscd three block-prints of this text, two of which are made from the same printing-blocks[17].

Lastly there is late yet important reference-material available from another *źi khro*-tradition, the *'ja' tshon źi khro*, in an eighteenth-century *bKa' rgyud-rDzogs chen*-text, which bears the promising short-title *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*[18]. This *źi khro*-tradition according to the *gter ston Las 'phro gliṅ pa* (1585-1656), also called *Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon sñiṅ po*, is still transmitted in a *bKa' rgyud 'brug pa*-monastery in Tashijong in Himachal Pradesh, Northern-India[19]. The author of the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*, *Ṅag dbaṅ kun dga' bstan 'dzin* (1680-1728) is said to have been the third incarnation in the *Khams sprul*-lineage of incarnate *bla ma-s* that started with the first *Khams sprul*, Karma Tenphel (1598-1638)[20]. I used five block-prints, three of which were made from the same printing-blocks[21].

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[15] Available from the library of the Kern Institute, Leiden, in the Johan van Manen Collection, under registration numbers: 2740/H511/H573 (identical) and 2740/H449.

[16] N.B. the names of these translators are also connected with a translation of an important *Mahāyoga*-text, the *Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścayamahātantra*, an early source for a *źi khro-maṇḍala*, see section 1.2.

[17] For further details regarding these and other *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-texts the reader is referred to Appendix I.

[18] "The Essence of the True Meaning of the (Host of) Peaceful and Wrathful(Deities)", The full title goes: *Zab chos źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i sgo nas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las* (private copy: *lam) rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod* (in the title-description by Chongla N. Losang and Rechung J. Phunkhang, Leiden 1965, *daṅ* is left out and *'khor ba* is replaced by *'tshol ba*).

[19] I have been informed that the ritual that is described in the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po* is performed there on a regular basis, it forms a part of the ritual calendar of this monastery.

[20] The present teen-age abbot to be of Tashijong-monastery is considered to be the ninth incarnation of the first *Khams sprul*, that is to say, according to this tradition *Ṅag dbaṅ kun dga' bstan 'dzin* was a previous incarnation.

[21] The three oldest (identical) versions consulted (1736) are kept at the library of the Kern Institute, Leiden, in the Johan van Manen collection under registration numbers 2740/H448 (the first title-page is missing, it is catalogued under the short title-indication in the margin: *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*), H426, and H194. Later versions are available through the IASWR-microfiche-edition, fiche 1416, R 1344 (1968) and from Tashijong-monastery (private copy, recent print). For more information on these and related works see Appendix I.

# 1 A Historical Survey of Developments in the Concepts *Antarābhava (Bar ma do'i srid pa)*/ *Bar do* and *Źi khro*

## Introductory remarks

The next paragraphs are an outline of the most important historical developments in the concepts *antarābhava (bar ma do'i srid pa)* and *bar do* (section 1.1), *źi khro* (section 1.2) and of the conflation of *bar do* and *źi khro* in a (*"Bon"-)bon ñid/ źi khro bar do* or (*Buddhist*) *chos ñid bar do* (section 1.3). These developments are presented by means of a discussion of the most relevant material regarding *bar do* and *źi khro*. The survey starts with the earliest references to an *antarābhava* in *Pāli* texts and the earliest beginnings of speculations regarding a more or less extensive *maṇḍala (dkyil 'khor)* of *źi khro* in *tantric Buddhist* (and *"Bon"*-)literature. I have no intention to discuss possible links of the concepts *antarābhava* or *bar do* with a shamanic journey to an "other world"[22] or with popular speculations regarding deceased ancestors, *preta-s* and the like. Nor do I intend to trace developments in *źi khro* to a remote and evasive past or less archaic but equally inaccessible cultural areas in discussing the probability of possible links between visualisation and ritual possession; even a rough sketch of developments of practices of visualisation in all kinds of *tantric* traditions, whether they be *Buddhist* or not, is beyond the scope of this study.
The survey will be continued until the fourteenth century AD, which is the upper limit for the dating of the descriptions of a *chos ñid bar do* in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. As far as I have been able to gather from my readings in later *Buddhist* literature on the subject, the most spectacular developments are indeed to be found before this date; especially the *Bar do'i thos grol*-cycles have come close to an authoritative standard for discussions of death and dying thereafter.

It might be useful to briefly summarise the present state of knowledge regarding the evolution of a separate *chos ñid bar do*[23]. The original nucleus of a *Bar do'i thos grol* that, as we noted before, was already extant at the fourteenth century AD, developed amongst what in due course became designated as the *rÑiṅ ma pa-s*, "the old ones", adherents of the so-called "old *tantra-s*"[24]. Judging by its content the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* most probably arose in circles within this sect that were influenced by *rDzogs chen*-ideas. *rDzogs chen*, generally translated as "the great perfection", represents a specific, more direct approach to practice and "spirituality" rather than a separate sect or school. As such, *rDzogs chen* is not confined to any single school, but sooner or later adepts in this tradition appear throughout nearly all sects[25]. It has to be admitted, though, that the closest ties exist with religious groups that at the end of the first millennium AD became known as *rÑiṅ ma pa* and *"Bon po"*.
Some of the conclusions on the development of the *chos ñid bar do* as represented in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* that have been drawn by Back[26] need to be mentioned here. Without suggesting that I would be inclined to accept all or even most of his

[22] For a study on this subject see Back (1979), Eine Buddhistische Jenseitsreise.

[23] Up until now almost all scholarly and popular writing was concerned with *Buddhist* sources on the subject, the equivalent of a *bon ñid/ źi khro bar do* in *"Bon"*-sources did not yet receive much attention; Lauf (1975), pp.175-187, presents some information.

[24] See e.g. Karmay (1988), p.9.

[25] For a traditional exposition regarding the position of *rDzogs chen* see Namkhai Norbu (1986), pp.26ff..

[26] Back (1979), pp.75-79 and summary p.233 (the basic structure of the *Bar do'i thos grol* according to his view is discussed in pp.111-203).

conclusions on the subject, I should like to say here that I believe Back was right in stating that the *chos ñid bar do* holds a special position amongst the other *bar do-s* that are described in *Bar do'i thos grol*-texts.
In the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* six *bar do-s* are mentioned[27], three of which pertain to death and dying. The first *bar do* coincides with the death-process, the *'chi kha'i bar do*. The next *bar do* we already met with in the introduction when a *chos ñid bar do* was mentioned, a phase pertaining to a supposed state immediately after death[28]. The third *bar do* is the *srid pa'i bar do*, the *bar do* of becoming (rebirth); for this *bar do* we find speculations concerning the wanderings and errings of a deceased (or rather the perception (*rnam par śes pa*, *Skt. vijñāna*) of a deceased) driven by fierce winds of *karma* in a self-created (imagined) beyond, possibly resulting in rebirth. According to Back, this last *bar do*, on closer examination, shows much resemblance to an older concept of one single state between death and rebirth, that is to say, to the *antarābhava* (*bar ma do'i srid pa*)[29] that is described already at some length in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* attributed to *Vasubandhu*[30], and the first references to which we find in *Pāli* texts.
Besides these three *bar do-s*, three other *bar do-s* are mentioned in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. These pertain to diverse levels of consciousness (if I am permitted to use this vague term in this context), the *bar do* of the natural state of existence (or of the period of rebirth): the *raṅ bźin skye gnas bar do*, probably implying ordinary waking consciousness; the *bar do* of dreaming: the *rmi lam bar do*; and the *bar do* of the *dhyāna*(*-s* pertaining to the) *samādhi(samāpatti)-s*[31]: the *tiṅ ṅe 'dzin bsam gtan gyi bar do*.
According to Back, the *chos ñid bar do* constitutes a later layer in the *Bar do thos grol*-texts that is more or less superimposed upon an older layer of one single "intermediate state" between death and rebirth. This older layer, now called *srid pa'i bar do* has, as Back convincingly argues, clear Indian (*purāṇic*) equivalents in texts like the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and the *Garuḍapurāṇasāroddhāra* (these texts have to the best of my knowledge not yet been dated satisfactorily). To my present knowledge, a *chos ñid bar do* has no parallels in non-*Buddhist* Indian literature. The only equivalents are to be found in "*Bon*"-traditions and not yet dated *rDzogs chen*-texts[32], which will be discussed later.
As we shall see in section 1.3, *rÑiṅ ma* but also old "*Bon*"-*rDzogs chen*-traditions were of paramount importance in the development of speculations regarding a separate *bar do* featuring the appearance of *źi khro*.

[27] See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.14, l.18 - p.15, l.1.
[28] That is to say, the moment of death in Tibetan traditions, i.e. the dawning of the clear light of death (*'chi ba'i 'od gsal*), not the so-called clinical death.
[29] The textual evidence of (discussions concerning) an *antarābhava* will be presented in the next paragraph.
[30] See section 1.1.
[31] The translation of this term is discussed at length in my unpublished M.A.-thesis, *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*, Vol.I, p.XIV, n.27, Leiden 1993.
[32] See introduction.

## 1.1 *Antarābhava* (*Bar ma do'i srid pa*) and *Bar do*

In those texts of older schools of *Buddhism* that are still extant today, an *antarābhava* is discussed almost exclusively as a mere nominal entity and above that, more often than not, the existence of such an intermediate state is denied[33]. A more elaborate treatment of the subject is first to be met with in relatively late literature[34]. The earliest references that come anywhere near a concept of an "intermediate state/ being" are speculations concerning a *gandhabba* that we find mentioned as one of the conditions necessary for conception[35]. Discussions regarding an *antarāparinibbāyin*[36] sometimes coincide with those of an *antarābhava*[37], but on the whole these coincidences do not yield much of a meaningful connection between the two. That is to say, the concept of an *antarāparinibbāyin* does not appear to be very revealing for the understanding of an *antarābhava*. Much of the discussion concerning an *antarābhava* proper is rather late -- commentaries on *sutta-s* and (later additions to) *abhidhamma* -- and seems to merely reflect the theoretical problems that the authors of these texts had with accommodating an intermediate state in their theoretical frameworks. In short, most of the material is not relevant enough to reproduce here, hence only a few, typical rather than revealing, passages will be referred to or, if needs be, presented in the following[38].

There are quite a few references to an *antarāparinibbāyin*. Most frequent are the passages where an *antarāparinibbāyin* is mentioned as one of five classes of

[33] According to Bareau ((1955), pp.283 & 291) the following supposed "sects" are said to have accepted an *antarābhava*: *Sarvāstivādin-s*, *Sammitīya-s*, *Pūrvaśaila-s*, later *Mahīśāsaka-s*, and *Dārṣṭāntika-s*; while an intermediate state is said to be rejected by: *Mahāsāṅghika-s*, *Mahīśāsaka-s*, *Theravādin-s*, *Vibhajyavādin-s*, and in the *Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra*. In an article Wayman ((1974), p.227) mentions a similar list of "sects": pro: *Pūrvaśaila-s*, *Sammitīya-s*, *Sarvāstivādin-s*, *Vatsiputrīya-s*, and later *Mahīśāsaka-s*; contra: *Theravādin-s*, *Vibhajyavādin-s*, *Mahāsāṅghika-s*, earlier *Mahīśāsaka-s*, and in a text (*Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra*) of *Dharmaguptaka-s* who, according to him, issued forth from the former. He refers to Bareau (1955) and does not give further references for the views of these supposed seets, nor does he examine the "sects" themselves more closely in his article. Cf. Vallée Poussin, L. de la, (1926), Vol.III, p.32, n.1: Sectes qui nient l'*antarābhava*: Mahāsāṃghikas, Ekavyavahārikas, Lokottaravādins, Kukkuṭikas, Mahīśāsakas (Vasumitra), Vibhajyavādins (*Vibhāṣā* 19.4).

[34] Like for instance the late (traditionally first century AD, see Warder (1970), pp.346f.) *Sarvāstivādin abhidharma*-work *Mahāvibhāṣā* and in an allegedly (Li-kouang (1949), pp.96-98) *Mūlasārvāstivādin* addition to the *sūtrapiṭaka*, *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* (both will be referred to more extensively later).

[35] E.g. *MN* I, p.265, l.35 - p.266, l.25 and *MN* II, p.156, l.29 - p.157, l.3, the interpretation of the term *gandhabba* that is appropriate in this context can be (and probably was) inferred from these passages; see also the definitions in later *abhidharma*-literature, discussed towards the end of this paragraph. The use of the term *gandhabba* is not to be confused here with Vedic conceptions regarding one or more *gandharva(-s)*.

[36] This term will be explained in the following.

[37] E.g. *Kv* II, p.361, l.8 - p.366, l.25 and *Ud-a* p.92, l.20 - p.93, l.17, cf. *Spk* II, p.372, l.27 - p.373, l.25.

[38] Abbreviations (following Trenckner (1924ff.)) refer to the corresponding text-editions mentioned (ineluding these abbreviations) in the bibliography of *Pāli* texts, the name of the editor(s) and the year of publication will not be mentioned. The abbreviations used in the footnotes (mainly of variant readings) that are extant in the text-editions consulted follow the conventions used in these editions, these notes will be printed in a somewhat smaller point-size. The text-editions of the *Nālandā*-series feature an "*N*" preceding the first-mentioned abbreviations. Those passages that are referred to in the following but are not cited either in the main text or the footnotes can be consulted in the provisional work-editions (Appendix II(a) provided on floppy-disks, this appendix is, like Appendix I, preceded by a table of contents).

*anāgāmin-s*[39] in more or less mechanical enumerations regarding the subject[40]. Many of these passages are concerned with intricacies of classification regarding those five categories or stages and their respective "eschatological" implications[41] and are not very relevant for the understanding of an *antarābhava*. The most current strain of interpretation that appears from the material available seems to take an *antarā-parinibbāyin* as a type of *anāgāmin* who reaches *nibbāna* before half of his lifetime in a *brahmā*-world has expired[42]. The interpretation of an *antarāparinibbāyin* as a type

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[39] Here used in its later -- in *abhidharma* and the commentaries -- generally accepted meaning of a "non-returner", one who does not return (to rebirth as a man, but will be reborn in one of the highest heavens and there obtain arhantship): the third stage of four in the breaking of the bonds (*saṃyojanas*) which keep a man back from arhantship. In the oldest passage referring to these four stages, the description of the third does not use the word *anāgāmin* (*DN* I, p.156, II, p.92, III, p.107; *MN* p.146) and *anāgāmin* does not mean breaking the bonds, but cultivation of certain good habits (*SN* III, p.168, V, pp.200-202; *AN* I, pp.64 & 120, II, p.160, V, pp.86 & 171), explanation and references extracted from a dictionary-entry in Rhys-Davids and Stede (1921), p.31b-32a; for a more elaborate treatment and more references the reader is referred to this article. Seven and nine classes of *anāgāmin-s* are also met with (see Jenner in Hôbôgirin, Vol.5, p.496b, ll.44f. and p.498b, ll.9ff.).
There are further subdivisions of *antarāparinirvāyin-s* too, they will not be discussed here, the reader is referred to Jenner's article in Hôbôgirin, Vol.5, p.498b, ll.13ff.).

[40] E.g. *DN* III, p.237, ll.21-23; *Kv* I, p.105, ll.32-34, p.215, ll.13-15 and ll.24-28; I, p.275, ll.10-15; p.215, ll.29-35 ; II p.361, l.8 - p.366, l.25); *Pp* (*mātikā*) p.3, ll.14-19, p.16, l.20 - p.17, l.25 (a little bit more elaborate as to what an *antarāparinibbāyin* is supposed to represent, quoted in the following), p.74, ll.22-28; *Vism* pp.709-710 (more elaborate treatment, ll.8-15 are quoted in the following); *SN* V, p.69, l.22 - p.70, l.24, p.201, ll.10-21 and p.204, l.26 - p.205, l.6, p.237, ll.12-15, p.285, ll.18-20, p.315, ll.20-23, p.378, ll.21-25; *AN* I, p.233, ll.28-35, I, p.234, l.18 - p.235, l.13 (more elaborate treatment), II, p.134, ll.20-37 (more elaborate treatment, cf. *Pp* p.16., l.20 - p.17, l.25), IV, p.13, l.28 - p.14, l.6, IV, p.14, l.28 - p.15, l.4, IV, p.70, l.8 - p.74, l.18 (more elaborate treatment), IV, p.146, ll.13-17, IV, p.379, l.23 - p.380, l.16 (more elaborate treatment), V, p.120, ll.5-8 and p.120, ll.21-24; *Paṭis* I, p.161, ll.12-14 and p.161, ll.22-25 (cf. next); *Netta* p.189, l.32 - p.190, l.4); *Pj* I I, p.182, ll.24-26; *Ud-a* p.92, l.20 - p.94, l.24 (cf. the following); *Spk* II, p.372, l.27 - p.373, l.25.

[41] In a text of the *suttapiṭaka*, the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, the *antarāparinibbāyin* is further specified as released from the fetters pertaining to the lower (*kāma*-world, i.e. the first five *saṃyojana-s*: *sakkāya-diṭṭhi*, *vicikicchā*, *sīlabbataparāmāso*, *kāmacchando*, *vyāpādo*), released from the fetters of attaining rebirth, but not released from the fetters of coming into existence:
*AN* II, p.134, ll.25-29 (cf. *NAN* II, p.241, l.27 - p.242, l.4):

4. Katamassa bhikkhave puggalassa orambhāgiyāni saṃyojanāni pahīnāni, uppattipaṭilābhikāni[1] saṃyojanāni pahīnāni, bhavapaṭilābhikāni saṃyojanāni appahīnāni?
Antarāparinibbāyissa. Imassa kho bhikkhave puggalassa orambhāgiyāni saṃyojanāni pahīnāni, uppattipaṭilābhikāni[2] saṃyojanāni pahīnāni, bhavapaṭilābhikāni saṃyojanāni appahīnāni.

[1] *NA*: upapatti-
[2] *NA*: upapatti-

(N.B. at the moment I can give no arguments either for or against the variant reading uppatti/ upapatti, see notes on *Kv* II, p.361, l.8 - p.366, l.26 (cf. *NKv* p.319, l.4 - p.323, l.18) below).
For a more elaborate exposition on the release of these fetters see *AN* IV, p.70, l.4 - p.74, l.22, esp. p.70, l.9 - p.72, l.2.

[42] See for example the *abhidhamma*-text *Puggalapaññati*, *Pp* p.16, ll.20ff. (= *NPp* p.26, l.1 - p.27, l.11):

41. *Katamo ca puggalo anāgāmī?*
Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyī anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā: ayaṃ vuccati *puggalo anāgāmī*.

42. *Katamo ca puggalo antarā-parinibbāyī?*
Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyī anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā: so upapannaṃ[1] vā samanantarā apattaṃ vā vemajjhaṃ

of *anāgāmin* who reaches *nibbāna* from an *antarābhava* is sometimes mentioned as the view of "an opponent"[43] and it is also propounded in *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*[44]. *Vasubandhu* gives no reference in support of this interpretation. He

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āyupamāṇaṃ ariyamaggaṃ sañjaneti uparitthimānaṃ saññojanānaṃ pahānāya: ayaṃ vuccati *puggalo antarā-parinibbāyī.*

43. *Katamo ca puggalo upahacca-parinibbāyī?*
Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyī anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā: so atikkamitvā vemajjhaṃ āyupamāṇaṃ upahacca vā kālakiriyaṃ[2] ariyamaggaṃ sañjaneti uparitthimānaṃ saññojanānaṃ pahānāya: ayaṃ vuccati *puggalo upahacca-parinibbāyī.*

44. *Katamo ca puggalo asaṅkhāra-parinibbāyī?*
Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyī anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā: so asaṅkhārena ariyamaggaṃ sañjaneti uparitthimānaṃ saññojanānaṃ pahānāya: ayaṃ vuccati *puggalo asaṅkhāra-parinibbāyī.*

45. *Katamo ca puggalo sasaṅkhāra-parinibbāyī?*
Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyī anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā: so sasaṅkhārena ariyamaggaṃ sañjaneti uparitthimānaṃ saññojanānaṃ pahānāya: ayaṃ vuccati *puggalo sasaṅkhāra-parinibbāyī.*

46. *Katamo ca puggalo uddhaṃsoto akaniṭṭhagāmī?*
Idh'ekacco puggalo pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saññojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti, tattha parinibbāyī anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā: so avihā cuto atappaṃ gacchati, atappā cuto sudassaṃ gacchati, sudassā cuto sudassiṃ gacchati, sudassiyā[3] cuto akaniṭṭhaṃ gacchati, akaniṭṭhe ariyamaggaṃ sañjaneti uparitthimānaṃ saññojanānaṃ pahānāya: ayaṃ vuccati *puggalo uddhaṃsoto akaniṭṭhagāmī.*

[1] Budsir IV, uppannaṃ. Note *NPp*, Sī-, Syā-, uppannaṃ.
[2] Note *NPp*, Sī-, kāl(?)akiriyaṃ.
[3] Note *NPp*, Sī-, sudassā.

Cf. *AN* II, p.134, ll.20-37, and cf. *Vism* pp.709-710, esp. p.710, ll.8-15; *abhidhamma* by *Buddhaghosa* fifth century AD:

4. Tattha *antarā parinibbāyī* ti yattha katthaci Suddhāvāsabhave upapajjitvā āyuvemajjhaṃ appatvā va parinibbāyati. *Upahacca parinibbāyī* ti āyuvemajjhaṃ atikkamitvā parinibbāyati. *Asankhāra-parinibbāyī* ti asankhārena appayogena uparimaggaṃ nibbatteti. *Sasankhāraparinibbāyī* ti sasankhārena sappayogena uparimaggaṃ nibbatteti. *Uddhaṃsoto, Akaniṭṭhagāmī* ti yatthuppanno, tato uddhaṃ yāva Akaniṭṭhabhavā āruyha tattha parinibbāyati.

[43] For instance in the *Kathāvatthu* see *Kv* II, p.366, ll.7-24 (vss.12-13, discussed below), where this viewpoint is associated with *Pubbaseliya-s* and *Sammitīya-s*. See also the *Udāna*-commentary *Paramatthadīpanī Udānaṭṭhakathā* (*Ud-a* p.92, l.20 - p.93, l.17), commentary by *Dhammapāla* on *Udāna*-anthology ("verses of uplift"), the *Udāna*-passage that is being commented upon hardly allows the discussion that "some people" are said to have generated on its behalf). Both an *antarābhava* and an *antarāparinibbāyin* pertaining to it are denied, the speculations concerning it are denounced as being based on misinterpretations of scriptural evidence (cf. the short commentary on the same passage in the *Sāratthappakāsinī* (commentary by *Buddhaghosa* on *S*): *Spk* II, p.372, l.27-p.373, l.2) also denying an *antarābhava* on the same grounds).

[44] *AbhKBh* III, p.411, ll.5-11 = Pradhan (1975), p.122, ll.2-7. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.38), the relevant part is cited and translated below.
(Cf. *AS* p.90, ll.9-14 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.155):

antarāparinirvāyī katamaḥ [1] upapattisaṃyojane prahīṇe abhinivṛttisaṃyojane aprahīṇe [T.118a] antarābhavam abhinirvarttayann eva yo [2]mārgaṃ sammukhīkṛtya duḥkhasyāntam anuprāpnoti abhinivṛtto vā antarābhave upapattibhavagamanāya [3]cetayann eva yo mārgaṃ sammukhīkṛtya

does mention an allegedly *Vibhajyavādin*-opinion in favour of the former interpretation, recorded in *Vibhāṣā* 69, 7[45], which is cited in *AbhKBh* III, p.413, ll.1f. = Pradhan (1975), p.122, ll.14-16 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.38):

> anye punar āhuḥ -- āyuḥpramāṇāntare[46] vā devasamīpāntare vā yaḥ kleśān prajahāti so 'ntarāparinirvāyī | (sa punar dhātugato vā parinirvāti ... )
>
> Others, again, say: "An *antarāparinirvāyin* is someone who relinquishes his defilements either when 'in-between' regarding his life-span or when 'in-between' regarding his presence with gods. (The passage continues with an explanation of the tripartition of an *antarāparinirvāyin* into a *dhātugata*, a *saṃjñāgata*, and a *vitarkagata*)."[47]

Both interpretations were, apparently, already current at the time of the *Kathāvatthu*, *Udāna* (& *Aṭṭhakathā*), *Mahāvibhāṣā* and *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. The "*antarābhava*-interpretation" appears to have been the latest (as far as textual evidence is concerned) and apparently the more controversial of the two. It is difficult to decide on the basis of the material discussed so far which is the "oldest" or "more original" interpretation. Evidence points towards the first interpretation as having enjoyed the aura of orthodoxy first, but it is not unthinkable that a large part of evidence of the second interpretation is not yet accessible, was lost, or maybe even has developed underground rather than having been committed to writing. Theories concerning an *antarābhava* do not seem to have been matters eagerly recorded in earlier stages of *Buddhism*. Nevertheless more or less popular speculations regarding it might still

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> duḥkhasyāntam anuprāpnoti | abhisaṃcetayitvā vā upapattibhavam abhisaṃprasthitaḥ[(v)] [bhavānu]papatticchanaṃ [4]yo mārgaṃ saṃmukhīkṛtya duḥkhasyāntam anuprāpnoti ||

Cf. also *ASBh* p.120, ll.16-20:

> (XVII) **antarāparinirvāyī** yena kśeśāvedhenopapattideśam gatvā pratisandadhyāt tatparikṣaye sati yenānuśayamātreṇa maraṇād ūrdhvaṃ skandhān abhinirvartayan tadavaśeṣe saty antarābhavam abhinirvartya pūrvābhyastamārgasaṃmukhībhāvād eva sa viśiṣṭānu[Ms.113a]śaya[5]prahāṇe parinirvāti[6] | sa punar upapattideśaṃ pratyanuccalitoccalitamātradūragabhāvasthatayā tri[7]vidho veditavyaḥ satpuriṣagatisūtrānusāreṇa |
>
> [1] cī- sakṛt ityadhikam |
> [2] cī- atrottaratra ca āryamārgaṃ |
> [3] cī- abhinirvarttayan ityadhikam |
> [4] cī- mo- cchandaṃ nāsti|
> [5] Ms. adds -ha-.
> [6] Ch. adds here abhinirvṛtto vāntarābhave upapattibhavagamanāya cetayann eva yo mārgaṃ saṃmukhīkṛtya viśiṣṭānuśayaprahāṇe parinirvāti | abhisaṃcetayitvā vopapattibhavamabhisaṃprasthitaḥ bhavānupapattiryo mārgaṃ saṃmukhīkṛtya viśiṣṭānuśayaprahāṇe parinirvāti.
> [7] Ms. stri-.)

[45] *Vibhāṣā* 69, 7 = Taishō (Vol.27) 1545 (Chptr. 69), p.357b, ll.21-22 and b, l.26 - c, l.4. This and following are references to the chapters and subsections of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* as edited in Taishō (Vol.27f.) 1545-47. I herewith follow the method of reference used in Vallée Poussin (1923ff.).

[46] Pradhan (1975): āyupramāṇāntare.

[47] The *Spūṭārthā*-commentary by *Yaśomitra* explains the terms *āyuḥpramāṇāntare* and *devasamīpāntare*:

> *anye punar āhur iti* vistaraḥ | āyuṣaḥ pramāṇaṃ tasyāntaraṃ tasmin *āyuḥpramāṇāntare* 'parisamāpta āyuṣīty arthaḥ | *devasamīpāntare* vā devānām antikaṃ devasamīpaṃ gatasy āntare *yaḥ kleśān prajahāti so 'ntarāparinirvāyī* | (*sa punar dhātugato vā parinirvāti* | ...).

For a discussion of two possible interpretations of these terms see Jenner in Hôbôgirin, Vol.5, p.497a, l.38 - p.498b, l.40.

have been going on in one way or the other, as might be testified by the fact that the first references to an *antarābhava* are complaints concerning the wrong views of certain sects that purportedly have misinterpreted the *sutta*-phrases that they tried to adduce as evidence. If the first interpretation, in which an *antarāparinibbāyin* is contrasted with an *upahaccaparinibbāyin*, would be the most original, that is to say, if its name was designed to be contrasted with the latter -- as it, regarding its above definition, in fact is -- than the term *antarā* does not seem to be the most eloquent choice. In analogy to the pair *asaṅkhāra*- and *sasaṅkhāraparinibbāyin*, one would at least have expected something like an *anupahaccaparinibbāyin* here. In this respect the first interpretation of an *antarāparinibbāyin* seems to be a reinterpretation already. In a reference to the *Mahāvibhāṣā* in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* mention is made of still another interpretation, (indirectly) referred to in *Mahāvibhāṣā* 69, 7[48]:

*AbhKBh* III, p.411, ll.9-11 = Pradhan (1975), p.122, ll.5-7 (Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.38):

> ... asaty antarābhave katham antarāparinirvāyī nāma syāt! antarā nāma devāḥ santīty eke I upapadyādayo 'pi hi nāma devā evaṃ sati prasajyante[49] I tasmān neyaṃ kalpanā sādhvī I

> ... If an *antarābhava* does not exist, how could there be (a class) called *antarāparinirvāyin*! Some (maintain): "That are deities named *Antara-s*". This being so, gods named *Upapadya-s* etc. (would) also be applicable, wouldn't they? Therefore this construction is not right.[50]

A lot more remains to be said about an *antarāparinibbāyin*, but that would require research into the origins and developments of this concept and into discussions regarding it in different schools of older *Buddhism*, a time-consuming undertaking that does not seem to lead to results that would be of much relevance to this thesis. Therefore I should like to leave the discussion of the term at this modest level of elaboration.

It might be interesting, however, to note here that speculations regarding an *antarāparinibbāyin*, notably the first two interpretations mentioned, seem to have survived until this day in the practice of *'pho ba*[51], the transferring of perception into *Amitābha's* Western Paradise *bDe ba can* (*Skt. Sukhāvatī*) at death and the concept of *bar do'i thos grol* (being "released by hearing in the *bar do-s*") after death successively.

We shall now return to the term *antarābhava*. In another *abhidhamma*-work, the *Kathāvatthu*, we find in a section named *antarābhavakathā* a rather lengthy discussion concerning an *antarābhava*. Even though the *antarābhavakathā* is not very informative regarding an *antarābhava* itself, it still is of some interest to us here, as it may help to illustrate the nature of the "paper"-wars waged on or against its behalf[52].

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[48] As pointed out by Jenner in Hôbôgirin, Vol.5, p.498a, ll.29-31, Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.38, l.15 erroneously refers to *Vibhāṣā* 79, 7 (unlike the reference on p.39, l.6).

[49] Pradhan (1975), prasajyate.

[50] See further arguments against this interpretation concluded in *AbhKBh* III, pp.412, ll.3-4 = Pradhan (1975), p.122, ll.13f. (Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.39), the interpretation is not valid because it does not allow of the tripartition of the *antarāparinirvāyin* (into a *dhātugata*, a *saṃjñāgata*, and a *vitarkagata*) as it is discussed there.

[51] See e.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, ll.13-16, cf. Specific Literature on *'Pho ba*, listed in Appendix I.

[52] *Pāli* text and summarising translation by Aung and Rhys-Davids (1915) of the *antarābhavakathā* are included in the work-editions in Appendix II(a). A similar discussion but now from the point of view of the proponents of an *antarābhava* can be found in the considerably later

The concern that underlies the first objections raised against the existence of an *antarābhava* in this polemic text -- to wit, that it should either be a *kāmabhava*, *rūpabhava*, or an *arūpabhava* and that it should be intermediate between these states -- is also voiced in all kinds of opinions regarding this question that the *Mahāvibhāṣā* reviews before presenting, last but not least, its own ideas, *Mahāvibhāṣā* 19, 4:

> La Vibhāṣā signale plusieurs opinions: pas d'*antarābhava*; *antarābhava* précédent la naissance dans les trois Dhātus; *antarābhava* précédent la naissance de Kāmadhātu; enfin, le seule opinion correcte, *antarābhava* précédent la naissance de Kāmadhātu et Rūpadhātu.[53]

The possibilities of *antarābhava-s* have experienced a considerable proliferation in the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*[54], where we find no less than seventeen (sub)species of *antarābhava* mentioned. In this *sūtra* we also find reference to another important theoretical issue that apparently gave rise to some problems, i.e. which *skandha(-s)* survive(s) after death and transmigrate(s) in an intermediate state[55], an

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*Sammitīyanikāyaśāstra* (translated by Venkataramanan (1953), see Cousins (1994), esp. pp.20f., on this text).

[53] Summary by Vallée Poussin, (1926), Vol.III, p.32, n.1; see the last note in the following passage by Li-kouang and the first item at the enumeration of properties of an *antarābhava*.

[54] See Li-kouang (1949), pp.52-53, cf. Taishō 721.6.2 (pp.152-209) and PTT 37.243.3.5-38.24.1.6; notes in 8 point size as in Li-kouang (1949):

> 2. *Les Trāyatriṃśa* (K. 25-35), *i)* Les dix-sept espèces d'*antarābhava*
>
> Sous la rubrique 17, le texte décrit dix-sept espèces d'existence intermédiaire *(tchong-yin, antarābhava)* : 1. l'existence intermédiaire de ceux qui meurent au Jambudvīpa et, renaissent aux cieux;. 2. celle de ceux qui meurent au Jambudvīpa et renaissent dans l'Uttarakuru; 3. celle de ceux qui meurent aux Jambudvīpa et renaissent au Pūrvavideha; 5. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakuru et renaissent, aux cieux (cette renaissance est dite inférieure); 6. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakuru et renaissent aux cieux (renaissance moyenne); 7. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakuru et renaissent au ciel des Trāyastriṃśa (renaissance supérieure); 8. celle de ceux qui meurent dans l'Uttarakuru et renaissent au cieux des Trāyastriṃśa (? la même que la précédente ?); 9. celle de ceux qui meurent au Godanīya et renaissent aux cieux; 10. celle de ceux qui meurent au Pūrvavideha et renaissent aux cieux; 11. celle de ceux qui meurent parmi les Preta et renaissent aux cieux; 12. celle de ceux qui meurent comme animaux et renaissent aux deux premiers cieux; 13. celle de ceux qui meurent dans les enfers et renaissent aux cieux; (14.) celle de ceux qui meurent au Jambudvīpa et renaissent encore au Jambudvīpa; 15. celle de ceux qui meurent dans des cieux inférieurs et renaissent dans des cieux supérieurs; 16. celle de ceux qui meurent dans des cieux supérieurs et renaissent dans des cieux inférieurs; 17. celle de ceux qui meurent au Pūrvavideha et renaissent au Godanīya et *vice versa*[1].
>
> [1] Cf. SUS, k. 34, S. XIV, 2, pp. 75b-78b; N.B. SUS = *SaddharmasmṛtyUpasthānaSūtra*.

[55] See Li-kouang (1949), pp.52-53:

> Vu les lieux de naissance énumerés (les quatre continents, les trois *durgati* et les cieux), cet exposé implique l'admission de l'existence de l'*antarābhava* dans le Kāmadhātu et dans le Rūpadhātu. C'est la, comme on le sait, une des doctrines caracteristiques des Sarvāstivādin[1], et que reconnaissaient aussi les Saṃmitīya et les Pubbaselīya[2] mais que refutaient les Mahāsāṅghika, les Mahīśāsaka[3] et les Vibhājyavādin (pāli : Vibhajjavādin ou Vibhājavādin)[4], ainsi que les Theravādin de la tradition méridionale[5]. Dans un autre passage du SUS[6] (en prose), sur la mort des damnés de l'Avīci, il est dit : "... Ces damnés étant morts ainsi, la matière de leur existence intermédiaire (*tchong-yeou-sö, antarābhava-rūpa*) se produit; elle est invisible (*pou-kien, anidarśana*), plus forte que tout obstacle (*pou-touei, apratighavant*), et leur corps est pareil a celui d'un enfant de huit ans..."[7]. La situation doctrinale du SUS, en ce qui concerne l'*antarābhava*, coïncide donc avec celle des Sarvāstivādin, selon lesquels "dans tous les lieux de naissance des *dhātu* matériels (*yeou-sö-kiai*, c'est-a-dire Kāmadhātu et Rūpadhātu) existe l'*antarābhava*, où l'on reçoit aussi rétribution

issue by the way, that in the *antarābhavakathā* of the *Kathāvatthu* is addressed as one of the problems that should be accounted for by those advocating an *antarābhava*[56]. We shall return to this *sūtra* after the discussion of some later *abhidharma*-works.

As far as this study is concerned it would not be appropriate to go beyond noting that these theoretical discussions do exist, an elaborate treatment of the various theories concerning these points should not detain us here.

We shall, however, return to the "*skandha*-problem" at several occasions in the following. The acceptance of an *antarābhava* by some schools seems to have had unwelcome implications for them as to who experiences such an *antarābhava* and how to define or explain the situation in terms of *skandha-s*, for, in a continuation of perception beyond death in a disembodied state, the suggestion of some kind of imperishable entity ("a soul") stands out rather conspicuously. Some measure of unease regarding the obviously quite unsatisfactory state of current *Buddhist* theory for conceptualising dying, death, and rebirth in this manner seems to have contributed in no small degree to the construction of more sophisticated theories and speculations regarding the moment of death and a supposed period immediately after; ultimately, as we shall see in chapter 2, resulting in descriptions of a separate *bar do* for such a phase.

Another issue that I should like to briefly introduce here concerns a possible relation between theories regarding *pratītyasamutpāda* and *antarābhava*. In the twelvefold chain of dependent origination the third *nidāna*, *vijñāna*, is preceded by *avidyā* and *saṃskāra-s*. At this point I am not aware of any convincing theories either for or against a temporal precedence of a tenfold over a twelvefold version of a *pratītyasamutpāda* or vice versa, all I may safely say now is that both do not belong to the earliest strata in *Buddhist* theory[57]. As we shall see in chapter 3, the concepts *avidyā* and *saṃskāra-s* play a role of pivotal importance in later descriptions of the *chos ñid bar do* in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, quite in accordance with the notion that mental dispositions and habitual tendencies are a predominant factor under these circumstances. These two *nidāna-s* cause some tension in the general interpretation of *vijñāna* as referring to the moment of conception[58]. It might be significant in this respect that in later works, like the *Lalitavistara* and the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*[59],

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consistant en *rūpa-skandha*", c'est-à-dire que dans l'*antarābhava* existe le *rūpa-skandha*, aussi bien qu'y existent les quatre autre *skandha*".

[1] Cf. *Mahā-vibhāṣā* (voir *inf.*, note 5); *Kośa*, III, 14.

[2] Cf. *Kathāv.*, VIII, 2. En ce qui concerne les Sammitīya, cf. aussi le *Sun-mi-ti-pou-louen*, k. 3, T. 1649, S. XXIV, 4, pp. 45a-48a, qui confirme bien la donnée du *Kathāv.*.

[3] Cf. *Samayabhedopa.*, T. nr. 2031, p. 16a, 17a; Tanjur, *Mdo*, XC, 11, éd. rouge de Pékin, p. 172b, 176a.

[4] Cf. *Mahāvibhāṣā*, k. 68, S. XXII, 3, p. 74b; k. 69, p. 76a; k. 135, S. XXII, 6, p.35b; k. 175, S. XXII, 7, p. 88b; voir aussi k. 60, S. XXII, 3, p. 37b (où est citée la théorie des Vibhājyavādin selon laquelle "l'esprit non-souillé assure aussi la continuation de l'existence").

[5] Cf. *Kathāv.*, VIII, 2.

[6] N.B. SUS = *SaddharmasmṛtyUpasthānaSūtra*.

[7] Cf. SUS, k. 13, S. XIV, 1, p. 59b.

[8] *Mahā-vibhāṣā*, k. 119, S. XXII, 5, p. 79a, où, avant donner cette théorie proprement Sarvāstivādin, le texte cite six autre théories concernant l'*antarābhava*, toutes différentes de la théorie de SUS.

[56] See *Kv* II, p.362, ll.22-24, = *NKv* p.321, ll.5f..

[57] See e.g. Bernhard (1968), references to sources there. In a recent article Vetter (1994) discusses some material relevant to developments in *pratītyasamutpāda*-versions; the position of *avidyā* and *saṃskāra-s* is not discussed there.

[58] See in Vetter (1988), pp.45ff., esp. pp.47f., where the awkwardness of this construction is discussed from a different angle.

[59] See for instance *AbhKBh* III, where this assumption is elaborated on the basis of *kārikā-s* 20-21 (*AbhKBh* III, p.436, l.8 - p.437, l.11 = Pradhan (1975), p.131, l.15 - p.132, l.6).

*avidyā* and *saṃskāra-s* have been associated with influences from a previous life. The conceptualisation of an intermediate state ruled by *karmic* influences might have profited to some extent from this confusion concerning the first two *nidāna-s* in the twelvefold chain[60].

More relevant for this study are considerations in later *abhidharma*-works. The most elaborate treatment of an *antarābhava* is to be found in the third chapter of the *Abhidharmakośa* and its *Bhāṣya* attributed to *Vasubandhu*[61], which we incidentally have referred to already in the foregoing. But the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, too, presents a considerable amount of material on the subject.

First I should like to present a short survey of the contents regarding *kārikā-s* and *bhāṣya* and a table of references:

[60] This possible connection was mentioned already (more or less indirectly) by Wayman (1974), pp.229f..

[61] Probably to be dated somewhere around the fourth or fifth century, for recent considerations regarding "a *Vasubandhu*" see Schmithausen (1992).

Short indication of the contents of the relevant parts of *AbhKBh* III:

| | |
|---|---|
| ad 4b-d (p.389, l.16 - p.392, l.10)[62]: | an *antarābhava* is not a *gati*; |
| ad 9b-c (p.402, l.3 - p.404, l.10)[63]: | an *antarābhava* is *upapāduka*; |
| ad 10 (p.405, ll.1-9)[64]: | definition of *antarābhava*; |
| ad 11-12b (p.405, l.10 - p.410, l.1)[65]: | evidence of the existence of an *antarābhava*; |
| ad 12c (p.410, l.2 - p.410, l.3)[66]: | evidence continued: the intermediate being is equivalent with the *gandhabba*; |
| ad 12d (p.411, l.5 - p.419, l.9)[67]: | further proof; |
| ad 13a-b (p.419, l.10 - p.422, l.15)[68]: | intermediate being bears resemblance to being of (future) *pūrvakālabhava*; |
| ad 13c-d (p.422, l.16 - p.423, l.3)[69]: | definition *pūrvakālabhava*; |
| ad 14 (p.423, l.4 - p.426, l.14)[70]: | properties of the intermediate being; |
| ad 15 (p.426, l.15 - p.429, l.17)[71]: | desire destines rebirth; vision of parents while in the act of cohabitation; |
| ad 16-17 (p.429, l.17 - p.432, l.7)[72]: | four *garbhāvakrānti-s*; |
| ad 18 (p.432, l.8 - p.433, l.6)[73]: | not an *ātman* but the *skandha-s* enter the womb; |
| ad 19 (p.433, l.7 - p.435, l.8)[74]: | (cycle) of rebirth; |
| ad 20-37c (p.435, l.9 - p.490, l.21)[75]: | discussion of the *pratītyasamutpāda* in this context; |
| ad 37d-38c (p.490, l.21 - p.491, l.17)[76]: | discussion of four *bhava-s* (*antarābhava*, *upapattibhava*, *pūrvakālabhava*, *maraṇabhava*); |
| ad 38d-41 (p.492, l.1 - p.500, l.9)[77]: | nutrition in the different realms (N.B. 40c-41a (p.494, l.8 - p.496, l.13)[78]: explanation of the synonyms for an intermediate being); |
| ad 42-44 (p.501, l.1 - p.505, l.8)[79]: | *vijñāna* in birth and death and observations regarding the process of dying; |
| ad 45ff. (pp.505, ll.6ff.)[80]: | not relevant to the subject of the present concern. |

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[62] See Pradhan (1975), p.114, l.12 - p.115, l.16 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.12-15.
[63] See Pradhan (1975), p.119, l. 3 - p.120, l.5 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.28-31.
[64] See Pradhan (1975), p.120, ll.6-14 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.31-33 (N.B. p.32, n.1: references).
[65] See Pradhan (1975), p.120, l.14 - p.121, l.18 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.33-36.
[66] See Pradhan (1975), p.121, l.18 - p.122, l.2 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.36-38.
[67] See Pradhan (1975), p.122, l.2 - p.123, l.19 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.38-42.
[68] See Pradhan (1975), p.123, l.20 - p.124, l.18 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.43-45.
[69] See Pradhan (1975), p.124, ll.19-23 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.45-46.
[70] See Pradhan (1975), p.124, l.24 - p.126, l.18 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.46-50.
[71] See Pradhan (1975), p.126, l.19 - p.127, l.27 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.50-54.
[72] See Pradhan (1975), p.127, l.27 - p.129, l.4 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.54-56.
[73] See Pradhan (1975), p.129, ll.5-21 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.56f..
[74] See Pradhan (1975), p.129, l.21 - p.131, l.2 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.57-60.
[75] See Pradhan (1975), p.131, l.3 - p.151, l.15 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.60-117.
[76] See Pradhan (1975), p.151, l.15 - p.152, l.6 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.117-119.
[77] See Pradhan (1975), p.152, l.7 - p.155, l.19 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.119-131.
[78] See Pradhan (1975), p.153, l.9 - p.154, l.8 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.122-125.
[79] See Pradhan (1975), p.155, l.20 - p.157, l.11 and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.131-136.
[80] See Pradhan (1975), pp.157, ll.11ff. and Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.137ff..

References to:

| *manomayakāya* | *antarāparinirvāyin* | *antarābhava* |
|---|---|---|
| | | *AbhKBh* I.101, ll.20f. (I.72)* |
| *AbhKBh* II.243, l.20 (II.209)* | | |
| *AbhKBh* III.494, l.13 (III.122), cf. 555, ll.18-21 (204, esp. n.3) | *AbhKBh* III.411, l.6 -414, l.7 (38-40); 495, l.2 (123) | *AbhKBh* III.389-392 (III.12-15); 402-426 (29-50); 426, ll.13-15 (53); 433-435 (57-60); 491f. (117-119); 501, l.7 (131) |
| Cf. *AbhKBh* IV.741, ll.9-11 (IV.234) | | *AbhKBh* IV.660, ll.9-13. (IV.119); 702, ll.13-15 (176) |
| | *AbhKBh* VI.948, ll.1-5. (V.210); 952, l.9-959, l.12 (215-220); 963, l.4-965, l.7 (225-227) | *AbhKBh* VI.940, ll.1-4 (V.201f.); 940, ll. 5-7 (V.202f.); 948, l.5 (210); cf. 959, ll.8-12. (220) |
| | | *AbhKBh* VII.1110, ll.4-7 (VI.103) |
| *AbhKBh* VIII (VI.140, n.2), cf. II.243, l.20, (II.209)*) | | |
| | | *AbhKBh* IX (VI.258, esp.n.2) (cf.PTT.115.277.4. 7-283.5.8: *gaṅ zag dgag pa*) |

N.B. all references are to the *AbhKBh*-edition by Swāmī Śāstri![81]

For reasons of space not all the material gathered in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* can be discussed here. Most of the material that *Vasubandhu* presents regarding an *antarābhava*, pertains, as I indicated in the introductory remarks to this chapter, to a state that we find characterised later, in Tibetan *Buddhist Bar do'i thos grol*-texts, as *srid pa'i bar do*, the *bar do* of becoming. As this *bar do* is not our main concern here, I shall as much as possible confine myself here to the passages that are relevant to a concept of *bar do* in general and to the later concept of a *chos ñid bar do* in particular[82].
In the general conception of an *antarābhava* the most important features that stand out in *Vasubandhu's* presentation are:

- an *antarābhava* is intermediate between two *gati-s*[83] and as such it stretches between the phase of dying (*mṛtyu/maraṇabhava*) and the phase of rebirth (*upapattibhava*[84])[85];

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[81] References marked with an "*" appear in the *Sphūṭārthāvyākhyā* by *Yaśomitra* only; the number between brackets refers to the page-number in the translation by Vallée Poussin (1923-31), *AbhKBh* I&II correspond to Vallée Poussin Vol.II (1923), *AbhKBh* III is represented in Vallée Poussin III (1926), *AbhKBh* IV in Vallée Poussin IV (1924), *AbhKBh* V&VI in Vallée Poussin V (1925), *AbhKBh* VII-IX in Vallée Poussin VI (1925a).
References to Pradhan (1975):
*AbhKBh* I, p.101, ll.20f. (I.72)* not in Pradhan (1975).
*AbhKBh* II, p.243, l.20 (II.209)* not in Pradhan (1975).
*AbhKBh* III, p.389, l.16 - p.392, l.10 (III.12-15) = Pradhan (1975), p.114, l.12 - p.115, l.16
*AbhKBh* III, p.402, l.3 - p.426, l.14 (III.29-50) = Pradhan (1975), p.119, l. 3 - p.126, l.18.
*AbhKBh* III, p.411, l.6 - p.414, l.7 (III.38-40) = Pradhan (1975), p.122, ll.3-25.
*AbhKBh* III, p.426, ll.13-15 (III.53) = Pradhan (1975), p., ll.17-19.
*AbhKBh* III, p.433, l.7 - p.435, l.8 (III.57-60) = Pradhan (1975), p.129, l.21 - p.131, l.2.
*AbhKBh* III, p.490, l.21 - p.492, l.9 (III.117-119) = Pradhan (1975), p.151, l.15 - p.152, l.14.
*AbhKBh* III, p.494, l.13 (III.122) = Pradhan (1975), p.153, ll.13f..
*AbhKBh* III, p.495, l.2 (III.123) = Pradhan (1975), p.153, ll.18f..
*AbhKBh* III, p.501, l.7 (III.131) = Pradhan (1975), p.155, ll.24f..
*AbhKBh* III, p.554, ll.3-7 (III.204, esp. n.3) = Pradhan (1975), p.186, ll.21-24.
*AbhKBh* IV, p.660, ll.9-13. (IV.119) = Pradhan (1975), p.231, ll.10-14.
*AbhKBh* IV, p.702, ll.13-15 (IV.176) = Pradhan (1975), p.250, ll.22-24.
*AbhKBh* IV, p.741, ll.9-11 (IV.234) = Pradhan (1975), p.268, ll.19-21.
*AbhKBh* VI, p.940, ll.1-4 (V.201f.) = Pradhan (1975), p.356, ll.9-11.
*AbhKBh* VI, p.940, ll.5-7. (V.202f.) = Pradhan (1975), p.356, ll.12-14.
*AbhKBh* VI, p.948, ll.1-5. (V.210) = Pradhan (1975), p.358, l.19 - p.359, l.1.
*AbhKBh* VI, p.948, l.5 (V.210) = Pradhan (1975), p.358, l.22 - p.359, l.1.
*AbhKBh* VI, p.952, l.9 - p.959, l.12 (V.215-220) = Pradhan (1975), p.360, l.1 - p.362, l.9.
*AbhKBh* VI, p.959, ll.8-12. (V.220) = Pradhan (1975), p.362, ll.6-9.
*AbhKBh* VI, p.963, l.4 - p.965, l.7 (V.225-227) = Pradhan (1975), p.363, l.24 - p.364, l.9.
*AbhKBh* VII, p.1110, ll.4-7 (VI.103) = Pradhan (1975), p.422, ll.7-12.
*AbhKBh* VIII (VI.140, n.2) not applicable.
*AbhKBh* IX (VI.258, esp. n.2) (cf. PTT.115.277.4.7-283.5.8: *gaṅ zag dgag pa* = Pradhan (1975), pp.461-479).

[82] Notably *kārikā-s* 4, 9-12, 14 and 37-38 with *bhāṣya* (and *Yaśomitra's Spūṭārthāvyākhyā*).

[83] See *AbhKBh* III, p.389, l.16 - p.392, l.10 (III.12-15) = Pradhan (1975), p.114, l.12 - p.115, l.16 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.12-15) and *AbhKBh* III, p.405, ll.3f. = Pradhan (1975), p.120, ll.8f. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.33): so 'ntarābhava ity ucyate; gatyor antarālatvāt', longer citation below).
According to *Vasubandhu* here is no *antarābhava* before a birth in the *ārūpyadhātu* (indirectly stated in *AbhKBh* III, p.423, ll.2f. = Pradhan (1975), p.124, ll.23f. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.46).
Cf. *AS* p.42, l.24 - p.25, l.I (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

- it is not a *gati* itself[86], properly speaking one is not born there[87];

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antarābhava(ḥ) kāmadhātau rūpadhātau copapadyamānasyārūpyadhātoś cyavamānasya I

See the information regarding this point in the passage by Li-kouang (1949) that was cited earlier in this paragraph.
The properties of beings pertaining to an intermediate state were thought to be similar to those of beings in a *rūpadhatu* as well as to humans of the first kalpa (e.g. *AbhKBh* III, p.554, ll.3-7 = Pradhan (1975), p.186, ll.21-24 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.203f.) and see also the *Udāyisūtra* as it is cited in *AbhKBh* II, p.241, l.6 - p.243, l.6 = Pradhan (1975), p.71, l.26 - p.72, l.7 (Vallée Poussin II (1923), pp.209f.) -- the gods possessing a body of mental origin (*manomayakāya*) are referred here to the *rūpadhātu* and not to the *ārūpyadhātu* (see also , Vallée Poussin II (1923), p.209, nn.2f.) -- and also in some respects (by some schools) to properties attributed to beings in the *ārūpyadhātu* (e.g. *manomayakāya* see *Y* p.20, l.14: sa punar antarābhava ārūpyopapattyāyatanaṃ sthāpayitvā draṣṭavyaḥ I, cf. Vallée Poussin II (1923), pp.209f., n.3 mentioned above).

[1] Pradhan (1975): gatyantarālatvāt.

[84] See *AbhKBh* III, p.490, l.21 - p.491, l.17 = Pradhan (1975), p.151, l.15 - p.152, l.6 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.117-119) on these and other *bhava-s*.
[85] See *AbhKBh* III, p.405, ll.1-4 = Pradhan (1975), p.120, ll.6-9 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.32f.):

ko 'yam antarābhavo nāma? **mṛtyūpapattibhavayor antarā bhavatīha yaḥ** I maraṇabhavasyopapattibhavasya cāntarā ya ātmabhāvo 'bhinirvarttate deśāntaropapattisamprāptaye, so 'ntarābhava ity ucyate; gatyor antarālatvāt[1] I

What is this *antarābhava*? **That which is here between the phase of dying and the phase of birth.** That which exists as an entity[2] between the phase of dying and the phase of birth, bound to reach birth in another situation, is called "*antarābhava*" for being intermediate between two *gati-s*.

Cf. *Y* p.20, ll.9f.:

tasya punaḥ paryāyā[7] antarābhava ity ucyate maraṇabhavotpattibhavayor antarāle prādurbhāvāt I

[1] *kā-*: gatyantara-. Pradhan (1975): gatyantarālatvāt.
[2] Later, in *AbhKBh* III, p.422, l.16 - p.423, l.3 = Pradhan (1975), p.124, ll.19-24 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.45f.), explained as *pañcopādānaskhandha-s* in this phase.

[86] See esp. *AbhKBh* III, p.389, ll.14-17 and p.390, l.1 = Pradhan (1975), p.114, ll.10-12 and ll.13f. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.12)
[87] See *AbhKBh* III, p.405, ll.5-9 = Pradhan (1975), p.120, ll.9-14 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.33):

katham ayaṃ jātaś ca nāma na copapanno bhavati? **gamyadeśānupetatvān nopapanno 'utarābhavaḥ** II10II upapattigato[1] hi "upapannaḥ" ity ucyate; pader gatyarthatvāt I na cāyaṃ gamyadeśam upagato 'ntarābhavaḥ, tasmān nopapannaḥ II10II kaḥ punar asau deśo gantavyaḥ? yatrākṣiptasya vipākasyābhivyaktiḥ, samāptiś ca I

*Spūṭārthāvyākhyā*: *pader gatyarthatvād* iti I "pada gatau" iti paṭhyate, tenopapannaśabdasyopagatārthaṃ darśayati I

How can he be designated as having come into existence (*jāta*) and yet not as being born (*upapanna*)? **Not having arrived at the situation where one should go to, the (being pertaining to the) *antarābhava* is not born (*upapanna*).** For, (in) what is called "*upapanna*" (by connotation) is (implied): having arrived at a birth; as the connotation of *gati*[2] is (also valid) for *pad-* and *i-* (constructions: *pader*?)[3]. And this (being pertaining to the) *antarābhava* has not arrived at the situation where it should go to, therefore he is not born (*upapanna*). What again is the situation where he has to go to? (He should go) where the manifestation and completion of the effected[4] fruition is.

[1] Pradhan (1975), p.120, n.2, MS. upapagato.

- regarding the mode of "birth" (*yoni*)[88] it is characterised as "spontaneously generated" (*upapāduka*)[89].

The properties of an *antarābhava* almost seamlessly merge with those of a being experiencing it, only rarely the term "*antarābhavika*"[90] or "*antarābhavastha*"[91] is used when (explicitly) referring to an "intermediate being"[92]. The intermediate being is characterised as follows:

- the intermediate being is designated as of mental origin[93];

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[2] Also: arriving at <*gam*-.
[3] As in *(upa)-panna/ (upa)-patti <(upa)-pad- ~ (upa)-ita < (upa)-i*; *vyākhyā*: "*pader gatyarthatvāt*" is read as "*pada gatau*" (a reference to Pāṇini, Pāṇinīyadhātupāṭha X.360?), by this it shows the connotation of "arrived" (*upagata*) for the word "born" (*upapanna*).
[4] See Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.33, n.2 (terminology following *AbhK* IV.95).

[88] See *AbhKBh* III, p.401, l.5 - p.402, l.2 (and following) = Pradhan (1975), p.118, l.23 - p.119, l.2 (and following) (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.26-28 (and following)) where *Vasubandhu* discusses the four modes of "birth" (*catasras yonayas*), to wit, *aṇḍajā yoni*, *jarāyujā yoni*, *saṃsvedajā yoni*, *upapādukā yoni*. Regarding the self-produced arising of a being pertaining to the intermediate state, the translation of *yoni* as place or mode of birth would in this context, as was mentioned in the previous point, not be considered completely accurate, since the arising of this being is not the same as the birth in a *gati*. But the term *yoni* does not allow a more neutral term that equally fits its anatomical implications and does justice to the character of the first three modes of birth as well.

[89] *AbhKBh* III, p.401, l.14-p.402, l.2 = Pradhan (1975), p.118, l.29 - p.119, l.2 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.27f.):

upapādukā yoniḥ katamā? ye sattvā avikalā ahīnendriyāḥ sarvāṅgapratyaṅgopetāḥ sakṛd upajāyante | ata eva upapādane[1] sādhukāritvād "upapādukāḥ" ity ucyante, tad yathā -- devanārakāntarābhavikādayaḥ ||8||.

*Spūṭārthāvyākhyā*: *sakṛd upajāyante*, na kalalādyanupūrvyā aṇḍajādivat |

Which is the spontaneously generated mode of birth? Those beings that appear at once[2], complete with unimpaired faculties of sense, endowed with all members and sub-members, are, for this very reason, for being able to be generated spontaneously, called "spontaneously generated" – namely: gods, denizens of hell, beings pertaining to the intermediate state, etc.

Cf. *Y* p.21, l.6:

sa tatropapādukaḥ paripūrṇaṣaḍāyatanaś ca jāyate ||

[1] *kū-*: upapadane. Pradhan (1975), upapadane, p.119, n.1, Y. upapādane.
[2] Cf. *vyākhyā*: without any graded embryonic intermediate stages (freely rendered).

[90] See e.g. *AbhKBh* III, p.401, l.14 - p.402, l.2 = Pradhan (1975), p.118, l.29 - p.119, l.2 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.27f.) cited above and *AbhKBh* III, p.423, ll.4-9 = Pradhan(1975), p.124, l.24 - p.125, l.2 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.46) cited hereafter.
[91] See e.g. *AbhKBh* VI, p.959, ll.8-12. (V.220) = Pradhan (1975), p.362, ll.6-9.
[92] See the definition of an *antarābhava* in p.405, ll.1-9 = Pradhan (1975), p.120, ll.6-14 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.32f.) cited above, where the *antarābhava* is explicitly stated to be an entity (*ātmabhāvo*), and see the ambiguous diction in *AbhKBh* III, p.419, ll.10 - p.420, l.2 = Pradhan (1975), p.123, ll.20-23 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.42) and *AbhKBh* III, p.424, ll.10-18 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, ll.12-20 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.47f.) cited hereafter.
[93] See *AbhKBh* III, p.494, ll.10-16. = Pradhan (1975), p.153, ll.11-16 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.122.):

**manomayaḥ sambhavaiṣī gandharvaś cāntarābhavaḥ ||40|| nirvṛttaśca** antarābhavo hy ebhir abhidhānair ukto bhagavatā -1. sa eva manonirjātatvāt manomaya uktaḥ; śukraśoṇitādikaṃ kiñcid

- he bears resemblance to the form of the being of the phase (after birth and) before death, (the five *skandha-s* in) the period in between birth and death[94]);[95]

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bāhyam anupādāya bhāvāt | 2. sambhavaiṣaṇaśīlatvāt sambhavaiṣī | 3. gandharvaṇāt gandharvaḥ | 4. upapattyabhi[1]mukhatvād abhinirvṛttiḥ | "avyābā[2]dham ātmabhāvam abhinirvartya savyābādhe loke upapadyate" iti sūtrapadāt |

**Of mental origin** ... 1. It is just called "of mental origin" because it originated by thinking ...

Cf. *Y* p.20, ll.10f.:

manomaya ity ucyate tanniśritya manasa upapattyāyatanagamanatayā | śarīragatyā ca punar nālambana[Tib. 12a.1]gatyā |

Cf. also *Y* p.20, ll.4-8:

abhinirvṛttir apy ucyate upapatter ābhimukhyena nirvartanatayā ||

*AS* p.43, l.1 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

sa ca manomayo gandharva ity api |

[1] Pradhan (1975), p.153, n.3, MS. upapattyā-.
[2] Pradhan (1975), p.153, n.4, MS. drops -bā-.

[94] See *AbhKBh* III, p.422, ll.16 - p.423, l.3 = Pradhan (1975), p.124, ll.19-24 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.45).

[95] See *AbhKBh* III, p.419, ll.10 - p.420, l.2 (and following) = Pradhan (1975), p.123, ll.20-23 (and following) (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.42 (and following)):

atha kāṃ gatiṃ gamiṣyataḥ kimākṛtir antarābhavo 'bhinivarttate[1]?
**ekākṣepād asav aiṣyatpūrvakālākṛtiḥ** | yenaiva karmaṇā gatir ākṣipyate tenaivāntarābhavas tatprāptaye | ato yāṃ gatiṃ gantā bhavati, tasyāṃ gatau ya āgamiṣyat pūrvakālabhavas tasyaivāsyākṛtir bhavati | ...

*Spūṭārthāvyākhyā*: "*aiṣyatpūrvakālabhavākṛtiḥ*" iti | ā eṣyad āiṣyat, aiṣyataḥ pūrvakālabhavasyevākṛtir asyeti aiṣyatpūrvakālākṛtiḥ | kasmāt? *ekākṣepāt* | yasmād aiṣyantī gatis tatprāpakaś cāntarābhavas tenaivaikena karmaṇākṣipyate |

In what shape then does an *antarābhava* exist for one about to come to a certain *gati*? **For being of one cast[2] that shape of the oncoming[3] phase (after birth and) before death.** By exactly that *karma* by which a *gati* is cast, by the same the *antarābhava* for reaching it (is east). Therefore, to whieh *gati* he will go, as (the shape of) the phase (after birth and) before death pertaining to that *gati* is for the one who will go there, his shape will be preeisely as for that (phase (after birth and) before death). ...

And *Y* p.19, ll.3-8 (cf. *Yogācaryābhūmiśāstra* Taishô (30) 1579 (1), p.282a, ll.17-19 = *Y* p.19, ll.3-5 referred to by Bareau in Hôbôgirin, p.561b, ll.48ff., Bareau presents a summary: "L'Être intermédiare de ceux qui ont commis des Actes Mauvais est comme l'apparence d'un mouton noir ou comme une nuit obscure, et L'Être intermédiare de ceux qui ont commis des Actes Bon est comme l'éclat d'un vêtement blanc ou comme une nuit claire"):

sa punar antarābhavaḥ sakalendriyaḥ | duṣkṛtakarmakāriṇāṃ punar antarābhavas tad yathā kṛṣṇasya kutapasya[4] nirbhāso[5] [2] 'ndhakāratamisrāyā vā rātryāḥ | sukṛtakāriṇāṃ punas tad yathāvadātasya[6] vastrasya nirbhāsaḥ[7] sajyotsnāyā vā rātryāḥ | sa ca[8] viśuddhasya divyasya cakṣuṣo gocarībhavati |[9] tasmin samaye sa pūrvaka ātmabhāvābhilāṣo na punaḥ [3] samudācarati vijñānasya pratiṣiddhatvāt |[10] viṣayaprapañcābhilāṣas tu samudācarati | yatra cānenopapattavyaṃ tadākṛtir evāntarābhavo jāyate |

- the size of this being is like that of a five to six year-old child, having the appearance of a youthful *bodhisattva* endowed with all marks[96];
- he is visible for other beings of his class and by the pure divine eye[97];

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See also *AS* p.43, l.3 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

yatra copapadyate tadākṛtir ...

On the two colours see also: *BoBh* p.390, l.20 - p.391, l.4:

dvābhyām ākārābhyāṃ tamaḥ-parāyaṇānāṃ ayam evaṃ-rūpo manomayo 'ntarā-bhavo nirvartate. tad-yathā kṛṣṇasya kutapasya nirbhāsaḥ andhakāra-tamisrāyā vā rātryāḥ. tasmād durvarṇā ity ucyaṃte. ye punar dvābhyām ākārābhyāṃ jyotiṣparāyaṇāḥ. teṣām ayam evaṃ-rūpo manomayo 'ntarā-bhavo nirvartate. tad-yathā jyotsnāyā rātryā Vārāṇaseyakasya vā saṃpannasya vastrasya. tasmāt su-varṇā ity ucyaṃte. tatra ye durvarṇāḥ. te hīnāḥ. ye suvarṇāḥ. te praṇītāḥ. ye hīnāḥ. te durgati-gāminaḥ. ye praṇītāḥ. te sugati-gāminaḥ.

*AS* p.42, ll.21-23 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

tatrāśubhakāriṇāntarābhavo 'bhinirvarttate I tadyathā kṛṣṇasya kutapasya nirbhāso 'ndhakāra-misrāyā vā rātryāḥ I I a(?)śubhakāriṇas tadyathā śuklasya parasya nirbhāsajyotsnāyā vā rātryāḥ II

And also, *Mahā-Ratnakūṭa*, Taishô (9) 310 (41), p.328a, ll.13ff. referred to by Bareau in Hôbôgirin, Vol.5, p.561a, ll.19ff., Bareau presents a summary: "En ce qui concerne l'aspect, les Êtres intermédiares sont de deux sortes: ceux dont l'aspect est laid. Ceux des Enfers sont laids comme du bois brûlé, ceux des Animaux sont comme de la fumée, ceux des Trépassés (*Gaki, preta) comme de l'eau, ceux des Hommes et des Dieux sont couleur d'or. Dans le Plan Matériel, il y en a dont l'aspeet est d'un blanc brillant. Dans le Plan Immatériel, il n'y a pas d'Êtres intermédiares car il n'y a pas de forme ...".

[1] Emend: abhinirvartate.
[2] *Vyākhyā*: because the *gati* they are coming to and the *antarābhava* leading towards it is cast by this one and the same *karma*.
[3] See *vyākhyā*.
[4] It is a sort of blanket (made of the hair of the mountain goat). - M.M. Williams' Skt. Eng. Dictionary. For this word Tib. has phyar ba which may mean here a flng according to the Tib. Eng. Dictionary of S. C. Das. This is however doubtful. Comparing the meaning of the word snam below, for Skt. *vastra*, "cloth" it appears that *kutapa* means here *kambala* "blanket", as Tib. snam is used in this sense. e.g. snam dkar po is *śukla kambala* "white blanket".
[5] Tib. snañ ba: MS *nirhrāsaḥ*. It is also below.
[6] Tib. dkar po; MS *apavādasya*.
[7] Tib. snam bu dkar po. Generally snam bu is a "woollen cloth".
[8] Tib. adds *-ati*. (śin tu).
[9] Tib. adds *vijñānāvasthānāt* (mam par śes pa'i mi gnas pa'i phyir).
[10] Tib. omits *vijñānasya- tvāt*.

[96] See *AbhKBh* III, p.420, ll.9f. = Pradhan(1975), p.123, l.28 - p.124, l.2 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.43f.):

pramāṇaṃ tu yathā pañcaṣaḍvarṣasya dārakasya, sa tu paṭvindriyo bhavati I
bodhisattvasya punar yathā sampūrṇayūnaḥ, salakṣaṇānuvyañjanaś ca I

(His) stature, then, is as of a five to six year-old child; though he is of keen senses.
For a *bodhisattva* moreover, like being in full youth and having all marks and secondary marks.

See also *AbhKBh* III, p.422, ll.13-15 = Pradhan(1975), p.124, ll.16-18 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.45).

[97] See *AbhKBh* III, p.423, ll.4-9 = Pradhan(1975), p.124, l.24 - p.125, l.2 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.46):

sa cāyam antarābhavaḥ:
**sajātiśuddhadivyākṣidṛśyaḥ** samānajātīyair evāntarābhavair[1] dṛśyate I yeṣāṃ ca divyaṃ cakṣuḥ suviśuddham abhijñāmayaṃ ta evaṃ paśyanti I upapattieakṣuṣā tu na dṛśyate; atyartham[2] acchatvāt

| devāntarābhavikaḥ[3] sarvān paśyati | manuṣyapretatiryagnārakāntarābhavikāḥ pūrvaṃ pūrvam[4] apāsyety apare |

*Spūṭārthāvyākhyā*: "*suviśuddham*" iti | ekādaśadivyacakṣurapakṣālavarjitam | te punar apakṣālā vicikitsāmanasikāro kāyadauṣṭhulyaṃ styānamiddham auddhatyam abhyārabhya vīryam audvilyaṃ chambhitatvaṃ nānātvasaṃjñā abhijalpaḥ abhidhyāyitatvaṃ jñeyeṣu yathāsūtraṃ | *abhijñāmayam* iti | abhijñāsvabhāvabhāvanāmayam ityarthaḥ | *upapattipratilambhikamapi* devādīnāṃ divyam iṣyate, na tu suviśuddham |
*devāntarābhavikamiti* vistaraḥ | *apara āhuḥ* | na samānajātīyaivāntarābhavo dṛśyate, kiṃ tarhi? devāntarābhavikaḥ *sarvān* devāntarābhavikādīn *paśyati* | *manuṣyapretatiryaṅnārakāntarābhavikāḥ pūrvaṃ pūrvam apāsya* | katham? manuṣyāntarābhaviko devāntarābhavikaṃ pūrvam apāsya manuṣyapretatiryaṅnārakāntarābhavikān paśyati, pretāntarābhaviko devamanuṣyāntarābhavikau pūrvāv apāsya pretatiryaṅnārakāntarābhavikān paśyati, evaṃ yāvan nārakāntarābhaviko devāntarābhavikādīn pūrvān apāsya nārakāntarābhavikān eva paśyati | gatīnām uttarottaranikṛṣṭatvād iti |

Furthermore, regarding the (one pertaining to an) intermediate state:
**He is visible for (those belonging to) the same class (and for those possessing) the pure divine** eye, only by those who belong to the same class, the beings pertaining to an intermediate state are seen. Also those for whom the divine eye is completely pure, composed of clear (= supernatural) knowledge, will see (him) thus, but (he) will not be seen by (those possessing) the (divine) eye by birth, because (the former) is exceedingly pure. Others (hold that) a being pertaining to an *antarābhava* for the gods sees all; the being pertaining to an *antarābhava* of humans, *preta-s*, animals or denizens of hell sees those that relative to him are below all the ones preceding (i.e. above him).

Cf. Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.46, n.3, *Vibhāṣā* 70, 13 records three opinions, the ones voiced here, but also one according to which all intermediate beings can see one another: "Les êtres intermédiares se voient-ils les uns les autres? - Qui - Qui voit qui? - Il y a diverses opinions. D'après certains, l'être intermédiare infernal voit seulement les êtres intermédiares infernaux ... l'être intermédiare divin voit seulement les êtres intermédiares divins. D'après d'autres maîtres, l'être intermédiare animal voit les êtres intermédiares infernaux et animaux ... D'après d'autres maîtres, les cinq classes voient les cinq classes.".

Cf. *Y* p.19, l.10 - p.20, l.1:

sa tena cakṣuṣātmasabhāgān āntarābhavikān sattvān paśyati teṣāṃ copapattisthānam ātmanaś ca |

*AS* p.43, ll.2f. (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

tatrasthaś ca karmopacinoni[5] sabhāgāṃś ca sattvān paśyati |

And Tibetan: PTT.112.253.2.4:

de na gnas pa yaṅ la[6] sogs pa'ol | skal ba[7] mñam pa'i sems can rnams kyaṅ mthoṅ ṅol

Cf. *ASBh* p.54, ll.21-24.:

**tatrasthaś ca karmopacinoti**, pūrvāvedhavaśena kuśalādicetanāsamudācārāt | [Ch.722b] **sabhāgāṃś ca sattvān paśyati** yaiḥ saha pūrvaṃ tatkuśalam akuśalaṃ vā caritaṃ bhavati taiḥ saha vartamānam ātmānaṃ svapna iva saṃjānīti |

And Tibetan: PTT.113.104.1.1f.:

de na gnas pa yaṅ las sogs go źes pa na sṅon gyi 'phen pa'i dbaṅ gis dge ba la sogs pa'i sems pa kun tu 'byuṅ ba'i phyir rol | skal pa mñam ba'i[8] sems can rnams kyaṅ mthoṅ źes bya ba ni gaṅ dag daṅ lhan cig tu sṅon dge ba'am| mi dge ba kun tu spyad par gyur pa de dag daṅ bdag lhan cig tu 'dug par rmi lam tsam gyi tshod du śes sol

[3] kā: -bhavikair. Pradhan (1975): bhavikair; p.124, n.8, MS. -bhavair.

- he is endowed with the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*[98];
- his organs of sense are complete[99];

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[2] kā: jātyartham. Pradhan (1975): jātyartham. In the Tibetan translation of *ASBh*, PTT.115.171.5.2, we find: *śin tu dan ba'i phyir* supporting the reading: *atyartham acchatvāt*.

[3] Pradhan (1975): bhavikair; p.125, n.1, Y. (N) -bhavikam.

[4] Pradhan (1975) reads *pūrvaṃ* only once.

[5] bhā-nāsti. Emend: *karmopacinoti*, as in *ASBh* p.54, l.21. N.B. the commentary explains *upacinoti* in a more passive meaning than at least the *Saṃskṛt* version of the *AS* seems to suggest! Considering this discrepancy in interpretation and the weak evidence of the verb *upaci-* in both *Saṃskṛt* and Tibetan we might assume the diction in this passage was at some time corrupted.

[6] Emend: *las*, as in the translation of the *ASBh*, PTT.113.104.1.1. A copyist or woodblock-cutter apparently mistook *las sogs* (*sog(s) (b)sags bsag sogs/bsag*): "to accumulate *karma*" for *la sogs pa*: "etcetera", thus depriving the passage of its meaning.

[7] Emend: *pa*.

[8] Emend: *pa'i*.

[98] See *AbhKBh* III, p.423, l.10 - p.424, l.3 = Pradhan(1975), p.125, ll.3-6 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.46):

**karmarddhivegavān** ṛddhiḥ = ā[1]kāśagamanam, karmaṇā ṛddhiḥ karmarddhiḥ, tasyā vegaḥ[2] karmarddhivegaḥ = śīghratā, so 'syāstīti karmarddhivegavān | yenāsau na[3] śakyo buddhair api pratibandhum[4]; karmaṇo 'sya balīyatvāt |

He is endowed with the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*, "supernatural power" (here means) going through the air, supernatural power through *karma*, the swiftness thereof is "the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*", (thus it means) quickness, (quickness) "that belongs to him" (therefore) "endowed with the swiftness of supernatural power by *karma*". For which reason he cannot be restrained even by *Buddha-s*, because his *karma* is stronger.

Cf. *Y* p.19, ll.9f.:

tasya ca divyacakṣur iva[5] cakṣur na vyāhanyate yāvad upapattyāyatanāt )[6] gatir api na vihanyate yathā ṛddhimato yāvadupapattyāyatanād eva |

[1] Pradhan(1975), p.125, n.2, MS. drops -rā- in ṛddhirākāśagamanam.

[2] Pradhan(1975), p.125, n.3, MS. veśaḥ.

[3] Pradhan(1975), p.125, n.4, Y. na seems to be necessary. MS. yenāsau śakyo.

[4] Pradhan(1975), p.125, n.5, MS. -bandhuṃ.

[5] Tib. lha'i mig lta bur. MS *divyasya cakṣuṣaḥ*.

[6] After *-āyatana-* Tib. reads an *ādāna-* (gnas ma blaṅs). So below.

And *AS* p.43, ll.3f. (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

ṛddhimān iva cāśu[(ii)]gāmī upapattyāyatane pratihanyate |

[99] See *AbhKBh* III, p.424, ll.4f. = Pradhan (1975), p.125, ll.7f. (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.46f.):

sakalākṣaḥ samagrapañcendriyaḥ |

His organs of sense are complete (meaning), having all five faculties of sense.

Cf. *Y* p.18, l.3:

sa punar antarābhavaḥ sakalendriyaḥ |

And *Y* p.21, ll.6ff.:

sa tatropapādukaḥ paripūrṇaṣaḍāyatanaś ca jāyate | ...

- he knows no obstruction[100];
- he cannot be turned away[101];
- he eats odour[102];

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[100] See *AbhKBh* III, p.424, ll.6-9 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, ll.9-12 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.47):

**apratighavān** pratighātaḥ = pratighaḥ, so 'syāstīti pratighavān, na pratighavān apratighavān | vajrādibhir apy anivāryatvāt | tathā hi pradīptāyaḥpiṇḍabhede tanmadhyasambhūtaḥ krimir upalabdhaḥ śrūyate |

**He knows no obstruction**. Resistance (means) "Obstruction", (obstruction) that belongs to him: "having obstruction", not having obstruction: "he knows no obstruction". Because he cannot be warded off even by diamonds and the like. For thus it is said that on the splitting of a reddened lump of iron worms are found that have developed in its centre.

*AS* p.43, l.3 (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

... apratihatagatiś ca |

[101] See *AbhKBh* III, p.424, ll.10-13 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, ll.12-15 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.47):

yasyāṃ ca gatau sa utpatsyamānas tasyāḥ sarvathā **anivartyaḥ**, na hi kadācin manuṣyāntarābhavo 'ntardhāya devāntarābhavo bhavati, anyo vā | niyatam anena yām eva gatim adhikṛtyābhinirvṛttas tasyām evopapattavyam, nānyasyām iti |

In whatever *gati* he is about to be reborn, from that **he cannot be turned away** at all, for never does he cease to be (a being pertaining to) a human intermediate state and become (a being pertaining to) a divine intermediate state or other. Inevitably that very *gati* with regard to which he arose, in precisely that one he has to be reborn, not in another.

According to Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.47, n.2, *Vibhāṣā* 69, 14, records the opinions of *dārṣṭāntika-s* which disagree with this tenet: "D'après les Dārṣṭāntikas, il est faux que l'être intermédiaire ne puisse changer ni quant au Dhātu, ni quant à la destinée, ni quant au lieu de la nouvelle existence. Tous les actes y compris les cinq *ānantaryas* peuvent être <changé> ... L'être intermédiare qui va renaître dans le quatrième *dhyāna* peut produire la vue fausse; il est alors détruit et immédiatement remplacé par un être intermédiare infernal ..."

[102] See *AbhKBh* III, p.424, ll.14-18 = Pradhan (1975), p.125, ll.16-20 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.47f.):

kiṃ punar antarābhavo 'pi kāmāvacaraḥ kavaḍīkāram āhāraṃ bhuṅkte? om ity āha | na tv audārikam, kiṃ tarhi? sa **gandhabhuk** ||14|| ata eva "gandharvaḥ" ity ucyate, dhātūnām anekārthatvāt | hrasvatvaṃ śakandhukarkandhuvat | alpeśākhyas tu durgandhāhāraḥ, maheśākhyaḥ sugandhāhāraḥ |

*Spūṭārthāvyākhyā*: "*ata eva gandharva*" iti | yato gandhagato gandharvaḥ | gandham arvati bhakṣayati gandharva ityarthaḥ | *dhātūnām anekārthatvāt* | ayam arvatir(?) na kevalaṃ gatyarthe varttate, kiṃ tarhi? bhojanārthe 'pīti | gatyarthaparigrahe 'py adoṣaḥ | gandham arvati gacchati bhoktum iti gandharva iti | *hrasvatvaṃ śakandhukarkandhuvad* iti | kṛdanta iti pararūpanipātanāt[1] śakandhu(ka)karkandhur iti pararūpasiddhir yathā tathehāpi gandharva iti |

But does (a being pertaining to) an intermediate state also, (like a being pertaining to) the realm of desire, eat food that is taken into the mouth? It is said to be so, but not gross (food). What then? **He eats odour**. Because the roots allow for more than one meaning[2], therefore (he can be called): "*Gandharva*". Shortness (of vowel) like "*śakandhu*" and "*karkandhu*". Now, those with insignificant ancestry have bad odours for food, those with important ancestry have pleasant odours for food.

Cf. *AbhKBh* III, p.494, l.13 = Pradhan (1975), p.153, l.15 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.122.):

- his life-span appears to be a matter of dispute[103].

We shall return to these properties of an intermediate state or being when discussing the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* at the end of this paragraph.

Before turning to *tantric Buddhist* material I should like to discuss a very short passage from the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* which was already introduced above. The *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*, according to Li-kouang a *Mūlasārvāsti-*

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3. gandharvaṇāt gandharvaḥ |

Cf. *Y* p.20, l.10:

gandharva ity ucyate gandhena gamanād gandhena puṣṭitaś ca |

[1] A reference to Pāṇini, 6.1.94: *gandharva* follows, like *śakandhu* and *karkandhu*, rule 6.1.94 which, as an exception to 6.1.88, does not result in *vṛddhi*.
[2] See *vyākhyā*: goes towards odour (means): goes to eat (odour, hence) '*gandharva*'.

[103] *Vasubandhu* presents the four opinions that are recorded concerning this question in *Mahāvibhāṣā* 72, 3 in reverse order, the opinion he presents last is the one that appears first in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, de la Vallée Poussin suggests (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.49, n.4, cf. p.61, n.1, subn.a) that this is the opinion held by the *Vaibhāṣika-s*. In extract be four views are, in *Vasubandhu's* order, see: *AbhKBh* III, p.425, l.1 - p.426, l.14 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.48-50):

1. No fixed rule (*Bhadanta*).
2. Seven days (*Bhadantavasumitra*); if in that time he has not met with completeness (of causes necessary for rebirth)[1], after having died they(?) arise again in that same place.
3. Seven weeks[2];
according to de la Vallée Poussin (Vallée Poussin III (1926), p.49, n.3), this might be the view of a *Śamudatta*?, he also refers to the view of the heretics (i.e. pubbaseliyānañ c' eva sammitiyānañ ca, of both *pūrvaśaila-s* and *sammitīya-s*) in *Kv-a* p.105, ll.1-8: ... sattāhaṃ vā atirekasattāhaṃ vā tiṭṭhatīti ..., ... either seven days or exceeding seven days ...;
See *Y* p.20, ll.4-8 (cf. *Yogācaryābhūmiśāstra*, Taishô (30) 1579 (1), p.282a, 1.27 - b, l.2 = *Y* p.20, ll.4-6 referred to in from Bareau in Hôbôgirin. Vol.5, p.562a, ll.6-10; Bareau presents a summary: "Lorsqu'au bout de sept jours l'Être-intermédiare n'a pas recontré les conditions nécessaires à sa renaissance, il meurt et renaît pour une nouvelle durée de sept jours).

sa punar antarābhavaḥ[3] saptāhaṃ tiṣṭhaty asaty upapattipratyayalābhe | sati punaḥ pratyayalābhe 'niyamaḥ |[4] alābhe punaścutvā[5] punaḥ saptāhaṃ tiṣṭhati yāv[6]at sapta saptāhāni tiṣṭhaty upapattipratyayam alabhamānāḥ | tata ūrdhva[6]m avaśyam upapattipratyayaṃ labhate | tasya ca saptāhacyutasya kadācit tatraiva abhinirvṛttir bhavati | kadācid anyatra visabhāgo | sacet karmāntarakriyā parivarteta tadantarābhavabījaṃ parivartayati ||

*AS* p.43, ll.2f. (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68):

paraṃ saptāhaṃ tiṣṭhatyantareṇa cyavate |

[1] *AbhKBh* III, p.426, l.4 reads: *saptāhāni*, while Pradhan (1975), p.126, l.10 reads: *sapta saptāhāni*.
[2] Add: *pratyaya* as in ll. 11f.: *sāmagrīḥ pratyayāḥ*.
[3] MS has here *paramaṃ* "at most" of which nothing is in Tib..
[4] Tib. ñes pa med do.
[5] Tib. lit. *dehaṃ vismṛtya* (lus brjed nas). Emend: *cyutvā*.
[6] Not in Tib., MS reads it twice.

4. If he desires rebirth, it will last only a short while (*Vaibhāṣika-s*).

*vādin* text[104], is known in a Chinese translation[105] from 542-43 revised by *Gautama Prajñāruci* (*K'iu-t'an Pan'jo-lieou-tche*[106]) from Benares in Ye, capital of Wei (534-550) with the help of two Chinese redactors *T'an-lin*[107] and *Seng-fang*[108]. And in a Tibetan translation[109] from the end of the eleventh or first quarter of the twelfth century AD, which according to Li-kouang was probably (like the Chinese version) made from a *Saṃskṛt* original (and was not translated from the Chinese)[110], the translators are *Śāntyākaragupta*, *Abhayākaragupta*, *Śākyarakṣita*, *Vidyākaraśānti*, *Subhūticandra*, *Ajitacandra*, and *dGe loṅ Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan*. Two abridged versions in Chinese and Tibetan are also extant, for an extensive discussion of source-material I should like to refer to the very thorough study of Li-kouang (1949), pp.147-161 and pp.262-271.

In the Chinese version of this *sūtra*[111] we find a most remarkable and colourful account of experiences at and beyond death, quite unlike the descriptions and systematisations regarding the subject that we met until now.

Since I am not a sinologist I shall not try to improve on Arthur Waley's translation[112]:

> 205. *The Intermediate State*
> When a human being dies and is going to be reincarnated as a human being . . . when the time of his death is approaching he sees these signs: he sees a great rocky mountain lowering above him like a shadow. He thinks to himself, "The mountain might fall down on top of me", and he makes a gesture with his hand as though to ward off this mountain. His brothers and kinsmen and neighbours see him do this; but to them it seems that he is simply pushing out his hand into space. Presently the mountain seems to be made of white cloth and he clambers up this cloth. Then it seems to be made of red cloth. Finally, as the time of his death approaches he sees a bright light, and being unaccustomed to it at the time of his death he is perplexed and confused. He sees all sorts of things such as are seen in dreams, because his mind is confused. He sees his (future) father and mother making love, and seeing them a thought crosses his mind, a perversity (viparyāsa) arises in him. If he is going to be reborn as a man he sees himself making love with his mother and being hindered by his father; or if he is going to be reborn as a woman, he sees himself making love with his father and being hindered by his mother. It is at that moment that the Intermediate Existence is destroyed and life and consciousness arise and causality begins once more to work. It is like the imprint made by a die; the die is then destroyed but the pattern has been imprinted.

The latter part, from the confused mind[113] onward, is to be found in several of the *abhidharma*-texts mentioned below[114], but the first part is different and, to the best of my knowledge, largely unprecedented. Written evidence of many of the experiences recorded here reappear one way or the other in later ages. The most remarkable point is undoubtedly the reference to the clear light of death, but also the feeling/ fear of

[104] See e.g. Li-kouang (1949), pp.96-98.
[105] Taishô XVII.200c.
[106] Transcription as in Li-kouang.
[107] Ditto.
[108] Ditto.
[109] PTT 37.119.2.8 - 38.24.1.7.
[110] See Li-kouang (1949), pp.19f., esp. p.150, n.1.
[111] This passage is lacking in the Tibetan version. Even though the Chinese translation is five to six centuries older than the Tibetan one, this part still might have been inserted sometime before the sixth century rather than having been omitted at some point in a version translated into Tibetan, regarding the unusual nature of the passage discussed this last option does not seem too unlikely. The Chinese text is presented in Appendix II(b).
[112] In Conze (1954), p.283, cf. German translation (1957), pp.233f..
[113] See II.22, characters 12ff. (xin[1] Mathews (1931), 2735 mi[2] Mathews (1931), 4450)
[114] See e.g. *AbhKBh* III, p.426, 1.15 - p.429, 1.17 = Pradhan (1975), p.126, 1.19 - p.127, 1.27 (Vallée Poussin III (1926), pp.50-54), cf. *AS* p.43, ll.5f. (trsl., Rahula, W. (1971), p.68) and *Y* p.21, ll.11-15.

being crushed by a mountain[115] and the occurrence of the colours white and red[116] have, sometimes altered or distorted, echoes in later literature.

Now, to complete this survey, I should like to introduce some *tantric* material. Firstly, attention is due to the important and influential *bar do*-speculations and -practices of some *(bKa' rgyud pa-)siddha-s*[117].
The most informative and hence noteworthy passages regarding a concept of *bar do* as such are provided by descriptions in the "hundred thousand songs" of *rJe btsun Mi la ras pa* (1040/53-1123/35) as recorded in the *rJe btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum*[118]. From a doctrinal point of view this text is greatly indebted to *Mi la ras pa's* teacher *Mar pa* (1012-1097) and to *Mar pa's* teacher *Nā ro pa* (1016-1100). Especially the six *dharma-s* or teachings (*chos drug*) of *Nā ro pa*, *Nā ro pa'i chos drug* -- to wit: *gtum mo* ((mystic) heat), *sgyu lus* (illusory body), *rmi lam* (dream), *'od gsal* (clear light (of death)), *bar do*, and *'pho ba* (transferring of perception (at death)) -- are of paramount importance for *Mi la ras pa's* expositions on *bar do-s*. The *chos drug* of *Nā ro pa* are again derived from the *chos drug* he received from his teacher *Tilo pa* (988-1069). These in turn, were, according to *Tilo pa's Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa* (*Chos drug gi man ṅag*, PTT.82.34.4.2-35.1.1), developed by other *siddha-s*, to wit, the *yoga* of

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[115] See the *gŹi sku gsum gyi rnam bźag rab gsal sgron me źes bya ba bźugs so* (XL.0696), by the eighteenth-century *dGe lugs pa*-scholar *dByaṅs can dga' ba'i blo gros* or *A kya yoṅs 'dzin*, folio 2v, ll.4f.:

> sa'i khams thim pa'i phyi rtags su lus śas cher skam źiṅ yan lag mams lhod lhod par 'gro ba daṅ | lus sa 'og tu byuṅ ba lta bu ñams 'byuṅ |

> Regarding the external sign of the dissolving of the physical earth-constituent (of the body): the body is very emaciated, the limbs become limp and a feeling arises as if the body is sinking beneath the earth.

see trsl. Lati Rinbochay and Hopkins, J. (1979), p.35.
Or as a more recent presentation by Sogyal Rinpoche ((1992), p.251) has it:

> (The next four phases follow the dissolution of the elements:
> *Earth*)
> Our body begins to lose all its strength. We are drained of any energy. We cannot get up, stay upright, or hold anything. We cannot longer support our head. We feel as thougb we are falling, sinking underground, or being crushed by a great weight. Some traditional texts say that it is as if a huge mountain were being pressed down on us, and we were being squashed by it. We feel heavy and uncomfortable in any position. We may ask to be pulled up, to have our pillows made higher, or for the bed-covers to be taken off. ...

Unfortunately Sogyal Rinpoche does not specify the traditional texts referred to here.

[116] See the phases in dying called *snaṅ ba dkar lam pa'i sems* and *mched pa dmar lam pa'i sems* (see XL.0696, folios 4r(, ll.1)ff.), the path of "the mind of white appearance" and the path of "the mind of red increase" (terms from trsl. by Lati Rinbochay and Hopkins, J. (1979), pp.38ff.). The "white appearance" corresponds to the perception of a mountain that looks as if it were white that is subsequently (ji[(2)], Mathews (1931), 495) ascended; the "red increase" corresponds the perception of a mountain that looks red. It is not unthinkable that the original meaning in the *Saṃskṛt* manuscript(s) that served as a basis for this Chinese translation has incurred some damage in the process of its rephrasing into Chinese.

[117] See Appendix I, Literature concerning *Chos drug* and *Bar do-s*.

[118] Four block-print- and manuscript-editions were used: Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XLI.255.2740/H57, and XLI.255.2740/H567; the text is translated by G.C.C. Chang as "The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa" (two volumes, see Chang (1977)).

*sgyu lus* and *'od gsal* by *Nāgārjuna*,
*gtum mo* by *Carya pa*,
*rmi lam* by *Lava pa*,
*'bar do* and *'pho ba* by *Pukasiddhi*[119].

This is not the right occasion to discuss the development and descent of these *chos drug* any further. Nor would it be very revealing at this point to present the rather detailed and technical descriptions of, and prescriptions for, these *yoga-s*[120]. We will, however, briefly touch upon the content of some of these *yoga-s* in the third and last paragraph of this chapter.

It is important to note here that the *chos drug* are mainly forms of *rtsa rluṅ-yoga*[121], though some external visualisation can be involved (e.g. in the *sgyu lus*-teaching). The last four *yoga-s* listed are moreover based on the two first-mentioned ones, which are more or less basic practices amongst them, namely on *gtum mo-yoga* and, except for the *'od gsal*-teachings, on *sgyu lus-yoga*. As such, the *'od gsal-* and *bar do*-teachings do not even as much as mention *źi khro*-deities. Generally speaking, these *yoga*-texts seem to be designed for practical instruction of a *yogin* rather than being dedicated to theoretical speculation concerning *'od gsal* or *bar do*; except for a conspicuous absence of a *źi khro-maṇḍala* they are not very revealing as to the way a *bar do* was then conceptualised.

Slightly more explicit information can be found in a biography of *Nā ro pa* the *mKhas grub kun gyi gtsug brgyan| paṇ chen nā ro pa'i rnam thar| ṅo mtshar rmad byuṅ*[122]. Three *bar do-s* are mentioned here in the first of five instructions on *bar do-s*[123], to wit:

*skye śi bar do*;
*rmi lam bar do*;
*srid pa'i bar do*.

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[119] Reference from Guenther (1986), p.XV; see also (Khenpo) Könchog Gyaltsen (1990), pp.43-45 (the Tibetan text by "Dorje Dze Öd" is presently not available to me, therefore I shall summarise the translation by Könehog Gyaltsen):

*Nāgārjuna*: *'od gsal* and *sgyu lus* was taught to *Tilo pa* by *Nāgārjuna* from the Father-*tantra* of the *Guhyasamāja*;

*Lava pa*: *'od gsal* was taught to *Tilo pa* by *Rol pa'i rdo rje*, a diseiple of *Lava pa* and *bar do* was mediated by *Heruka*;

*Saraha*: according to some *'pho ba* and *bar do* were taught by the *Ḍākinī sKal ba bzaṅ mo* from the *tantra*, *sDom pa rgya mtsho*; *gtum mo* was taught by *Carya pa* from the *Cakrasaṃvara-tantra*.

So *Carya pa*, *Nāgārjuna*, *Lava pa*, and *sKal ba bzaṅ mo* are reckoned to be the four *bla ma-s* of *Tilo pa's* lineage.

A Tibetan translation of the *Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa* (PTT-edition) is presented in Appendix II(c).

[120] For a presentation of *Nā ro pa's* six teachings in the English language see Chang (1963). This presentation of *bKra śis rnam rgyal's* version of the teaehings is not based on a Tibetan original but on a Chinese translation, which is not specified any further, it was translated by Mang Kung. Some references to Tibetan versions of the *Nā ro'i chos drug* are to be found in Appendix I, Literature concerning *Chos drug* and *Bar do-s*.

[121] Forms of *Buddhist yoga* focusing on vital breath or energy (*rluṅ*, *Skt. prāṇa*) moving through subtle channels (*rtsa*, *Skt. nāḍī*), causing, for instance, droplets of vital essence (*thig le*, *Skt. bindu*) to rise and or descend through various centres (*'khor lo*, *Skt. cakra*) along the central *nāḍī*, the *avadhūti* (Tib. *rtsa dbu ma*).

[122] The relevant part is edited in Guenther (1963), pp.264f. (folios 33v - 34v) and translated (rather freely) on pp.82-86, see esp. pp.83-85.

[123] See Guenther (1963), p.264, ll.15-29, for the ease of reference the relevant part is reproduced in Appendix II. Cf. Back (1979), pp.92-95.

These three physical (*lus ldan*) forms of *bar do* are specified further:

the *skye śi bar do* is characterised as the body of flesh and blood, (resulting from) maturation (*Skt. vipāka*) (of *karma*);
*rmi lam bar do* as subtle body of indivisible vital breath (*rluṅ*, *Skt. prāṇa*) and mental processes (*Skt. citta*);
and *srid pa'i bar do* is designated as a mental body: the *gandharva*.

The mentioning of a *chos ñid kyi bar do* in the description (1.17) and the following elaboration (1.25) of the third instruction does not seem to refer to a separate *bar do* state named "*chos ñid bar do*", but rather seems to refer to a non-physical but impure form of *bar do* still having properties (*dri ma can chos can*) that is to be realised (fourth instruction) as the "son-clear light" (*'od gsal bu*) and is specified by the preceding attribute *chos ñid kyi*. The attribute *chos ñid kyi* functions similar to *chos ñid mtshan ma'i* in the formation of the term *chos ñid mtshan ma'i bar do* in the preceding, the second instruction (1.16), where in relation to the "mother-clear light" (*'od gsal ma = chos ñid*), a non-physical (and non-tainted) form of *bar do* (without properties) is specified as having the characteristic of *dharmatā* (*chos ñid mtshan ma'i*), this term, too, should not be taken as a reference to a separate "*chos ñid mtshan ma'i bar do*".

For some more elaborate descriptions we shall now turn towards material recorded with regard to "Tibet's great *yogi*", *Mi la ras pa*. The designation "*bar do*" seems to be used rather freely in the *mGur 'bum*: it is applied to all kinds of "in-between"-situations that could be characterised as important turning points (read: opportunities to enlightenment or to reinforced delusion) either in practice or in "ordinary life-experience", phases of transition in general, and shifts in consciousness. Key-words are change and insecurity, and quintessence shining through shifting side-scenes. The term *bar do* is not so much a reference to a fixed set of states or phases of transition anymore, but has become a metaphor for the very transitory and uncertain nature inherent in these states and could, in principle, be applied to any such situation. Examples of this more free use of the term *bar do* are:

*yeṅs snaṅ stoṅ gñis kyi bar do*; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 104r, 1.5
*bde stoṅ gñis kyi bar do*; see folio 104r, 1.6
*chags can chags bral bar do*; see folio 104v, 1.1
*skyon can (ldaṅ) skyon med bar do*; see folio 104v, 1.2
*(da res) 'khor 'das (gñis kyi) bar do*; see folios 104v, 1.3; 165r, 1.6
*tshig don gñis kyi bar do*; see folio 104v, 1.4
((*lam 'jigs pa can gyi) bar do*; see folio 162v, 1.6)
*raṅ bźin lam gyi bar do*; see folio 165v, 1.1
*lta ba'i bar do*; see folio 237r, 1.6
*sgom pa'i bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.1
*spyod pa'i bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.2
*lam bskyed rdzogs kyi bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.3
*gnad kyi bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.4
*sku gsum gyi bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.4
*'bras bu'i bar do*; see folio 237v, 1.5

Apart from this, the term *bar do* is also used to refer to more concrete, traditionally conceived states or phases of transition in life, similar to the use of *bhava* in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*[124]. Examples of these more traditionally conceived *bar do-s* are:

*(snaṅ ba) skye śi('i) bar do*; see Kern 28.536.3, folios 73r, l.1; 165r, l.6; 237r, l.2 (cf. *pūrvakālabhava*)
*rmi lam (gyi/ gñid kyi) bar do*; see folios 73r, l.1; 165v, l.1; 237r, l.3; 237v, l.2
*(snaṅ min/miṅ/mun*[125]*) srid pa('i) bar do*; see folios 73r, l.1; 165r, l.5; 165v, l.2: *tha ma* ...; 237r, l.3 (cf. *antarābhava*)
also called: *lam srid pa bar ma do* (see folio 267v, l.5) and *snaṅ mun 'od kyi bar do* (see folio 267v, l.6)
*skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do*; see folio 165v, l.2 (cf. *upapattibhava*)

The three *bhava-s* pertaining to death and a possible rebirth referred to in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, to wit, *mṛtyu-* or *maraṇabhava*, *antarābhava*, and *upapattibhava*, are probably intended in Kern 28.536.3, folio 163r, l.3, where the five *ḍākinī-s* mention three *'phraṅ*, short for *bar do'i 'phraṅ*[126] -- a standing expression in *bar do*-literature -- regarding (a safe passage through) whieh they desire to be instructed by *Mi la ras pa*. The preceding (Kern 28.536.3, folio 163r, ll.2f.) characterisations of these fearsome abysmal paths and the requested guiding instructions pertaining to it as:

the clear light (of) death, (i.e.) *chos (kyi) sku* (*Skt. dharmakāya*): instructions regarding *dharmakāya*;
the pure illusory body pertaining to *bar do*: instructions regarding *loṅs (spyod rdzogs pa'i) sku* (*Skt. sambhogakāya*);
the realm of rebirth, rebirth (in) which is in one's own power (read: *raṅ dbaṅ la yod*): instructions regarding *sprul (pa'i) sku* (*Skt. nirmāṇakāya*);

clearly indicate a *bar do* of death, which, however, is not specified any further (in Kern 28.536.3, folio 167v, l.3 a *'chi ba'i srid pa* is mentioned[127]); a *srid pa'i bar do*, which is mentioned rather frequently throughout the cited passages and which term seems to be used for this one out of three or six phases as well as a general reference to "the" phase between death and rebirth[128]; and a *bar do* of passing to a place of

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[124] Note that the Tibetan translation of *antarābhava*: *bar ma do'i srid pa* probably provided the term *bar ma do* or *bar do* as an equivalent for what in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* was referred to as *bhava*, whereas in the translation of *antarābhava*, *bhava* was translated by *srid pa* and not by *bar ma do*. This clearly indicates that in Tibetan traditions all *bhava-s* were styled after one *bhava* that aecording to their perception represented the central or original one, the blueprint of the concept of an intermediate state, the *antarābhava*, *bar ma do'i srid pa*, or in short *bar ma do*, hence, *bar ma do* or *bar do* and not *srid pa*.

[125] Cf. Kern 28.536.3, folio 267v, l.6: *snaṅ mun 'od kyi bar do*, as another name for *lam srid pa bar ma do*, both referring to *srid pa'i bar do*.

[126] The word *'phraṅ* or *phraṅ* (also: *lam 'phraṅ*) refers to a footpath along a narrow ledge on the side of a precipitous wall of rock, *bar do'i 'phraṅ*, then, denotes the road of the abyss of the *bar do*, or simply the abyss of *bar do* (Jäschke (1881), p.359a).

[127] Note that here the translation *srid pa* is preferred for *bhava*.

[128] Chang (1977), Vol.I, p.355, n.20, erroneously equates this phase with the *chos ñid kyi bar do* of the *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-cycles, this *bar do* bears all the marks of the *srid pa'i bar do* mentioned there and the *antarābhava* of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the *chos ñid bar do* and the *źi khro*-deities in particular are not referred to in the *mGur 'bum*.

rebirth (*skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do*) mentioned Kern 28.536.3, folio 165v, l.2[129]. Obviously these three *bar do-s* imply much more than the three equivalent *bhava-s* mentioned above. The essentialising equation, for instance, of each of these three *bar do-s* with one aspect of the *trikāya*, so important in later *bar do*-teachings, is clearly a later development. This equation is even more explicit in Kern 28.536.3, folio 162r, ll.2-5:

> ... the clear light of death is the *dharmakāya*[130], the pure illusory body pertaining to *bar do* is the *sambhogakāya*, the various realms of rebirth are the *nirmāṇakāya*; the three bodies, not different and of one taste, are the *(chos dbyiṅs) ṅo bo ñid kyi sku (svabhāvikakāya)* ...

The prose passage in Kern 28.536.3, folios 167v, l.5 - 168r, l.1, is somewhat more outspoken on the *'chi ba'i srid pa* (upon which we shall not dwell here) and this *lam srid pa bar ma do*, (= )*snaṅ smun 'od kyi bar do* or (= )*srid pa bar do*. The *lam srid pa bar ma do* is characterised as an abysmal road where one has a mental body sprung from previous (*karma*)[131] and where one is persecuted by executioners of *karma*. Furthermore in this *snaṅ mun 'od kyi bar do* one is in full possession of all senses, is unimpeded, and has a body endowed with light and miraculous powers of *karma*. According to Kern 28.536.3, folio 165r, ll.5f., one will, in this *snaṅ mun srid pa'i bar do*, experience the suffering of (extreme) heat and cold for seven weeks, whereafter, pursued by *karma*, one will, again, enter into the prison of *saṃsāra*. And according to Kern 28.536.3, folio 165v, ll.2, the *trikāya* will also, finally, become manifest in the *srid pa'i bar do* (after which one should try to obtain access to the (*Buddha*-)fields). These descriptions accord well, as Back (1979, pp.93-95) has already shown, with the descriptions of the *srid pa'i bar do* in *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-cycles.

Longer lists of six and eight *bar do-s* are also mentioned[132], on closer examination these references reveal no consistent scheme and they cannot be equated to one

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[129] Chang (1977), Vol.I, p.356, n.27, erroneously equates this phase with the *srid pa'i bar do* of the *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-cycles, this *bar do* rather corresponds to the *upapattibhava* in *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

[130] Cf. Kern 28.536.3, folio 167v, ll.3-5.

[131] Read: *sṅon las byuṅ*. It is not clear whether this clause should go with the implied object or, as Chang (1977), p.352, takes it, with the persecutors of *karma*, either way the grammatical construction is incorrect. Considering the emphatic manner in which the possession of a mental body in a *antarābhava* and a *srid pa'i bar do* usually is propounded the first solution seems the most probable one.

[132] Kern 28.536.3, folio 165r, l.1 - 165v, l.4:

1. *snaṅ min(/miṅ/mun) srid pa'i bar do*; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 165r, l.5
2. *da res 'khor 'das bar do*; see folio 165r, l.6
3. *snaṅ ba skye śi'i bar do*; see folio 165r, l.6
4. *raṅ bźin lam gyi bar do*; see folio 165v, l.1
5. *rmi lam gñid kyi bar do*; see folio 165v, l.1
6. *skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do*; see folio 165v, l.2

Kern 28.536.3, folios 236v, l.4 - 237v, l.5:

1. *lta ba'i bar do*; see Kern 28.536.3, folio 237r, l.6
2. *sgom pa'i bar do*; see folio 237v, l.1
3. *spyod pa'i bar do*; see folio 237v, l.2
4. *rmi lam gyi bar do*; see folio 237v, l.2
5. *lam bskyed rdzogs kyi bar do*; see folio 237v, l.3
6. *gnad kyi bar do*; see folio 237v, l.4
7. *sku gsum gyi bar do*; see folio 237v, l.4

another. The list of six *bar do-s* does however, as we can see in the following, show some similarity to the six *bar do-s* that are mentioned in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

Lastly I should like to present some evidence extracted from various *gter ma*-sources on *bar do-s*, to wit from:

the *Ñi ma daṅ zla ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsaṅ ba'i rgyud*[133], a *rÑiṅ ma rDzogs chen*-text which is partly translated and "critically" edited in Orofino (1985)[134] (together with an interesting "*Bon*"-*rDzogs chen*-text *rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud las sGron ma drug gi gdams pa* with its commentary, the *rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud las sGron ma'i 'grel pa ñi 'od rgyan*, the first of which seems to be considerably older than the previous text and will be discussed briefly later-on in the third paragraph of this chapter);

the *sÑiṅ thig ya bźi* (especially the *Źi ba bar do lam gyi mtshan ñid*[135], (XXIII.1318.1.h) and the *Chos ñid bar do'i yon tan*[136] (XXIII.1318.1.I))[137] collected by *Kloṅ chen pa dri med 'od zer* (1306/8-1363);

the most important evidence is to be found in the *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-cycles[138] (and as far as this study is concerned especially in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*) revealed by the *gter ston Karma gliṅ pa* (14th century[139]);

the *Kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal* and the *Ka dag raṅ 'byuṅ raṅ śar*[140] (especially the *Bar do lṅa'i ṅo sprod* (XXV.127[141]))[142] revealed by *gter ston rGod kyi ldem 'phru can* (1337-1408);

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8. *'bras bu'i bar do*; see folio 237v, l.5

[133] The *Ñi ma daṅ zla ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsaṅ ba'i rgyud* is to be found in the *rÑiṅ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*-collection of the *Bima sñiṅ thig*, Delhi, 1973, Vol.III, pp.153-233 (available on IASWR-microfiche, set R-2101, entry 2170 in Tachikawa (1983)), esp. the third and fourth chapters (pp.203, ll.6ff.), the third chapter treats of a *'chi kha'i (lba ma'i) bar do* in the last chapter a *chos ñid bar do* and *srid pa'i bar do* (in the second chapter a *raṅ bźin gnas pa'i bar do*, corresponding to the *raṅ bźin skye gnas bar do* mentioned in the *Kar gliṅ źi khro*, is presented). According to Orofino (1985, p.27, n.20) this text is not extant in the edition of the *rÑiṅ ma pa rgyud bcu bdun* prepared by Orgyan Dorji (Sumra (H.P.) 1975) on the basis of a rare but incomplete manuscript found in a monastery in Spiti.

[134] The *Ñi ma daṅ zla ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsaṅ ba'i rgyud* is translated in Orofino (1985), pp.30-59, and edited on pp.105-126. Orofino's "critical" editions do not seem to be based on comparison of different text-editions but on the expertise of several Tibetan scholars and teachers.

[135] Edited in Appendix II(c).

[136] Edited in Appendix II(c).

[137] See Appendix I.

[138] See Appendix I.

[139] According to Namkhai Norbu (Preface to Orofino(1985), p.1) in 1326, he does not present any arguments in support of this date. According to Orofino, p.14, n.4, 1326 is the birth date of *gter ston Karma gliṅ pa* (*1326-*1386) referring to Dargyay (1977), pp.151f.. Dargyay (1977), p.152, however does not state that *Karma gliṅ pa* lived from 1326-1386, but indicates that his birth took place somewhere in that specific cycle of sixty years (the sixth sexagesimal cycle).

[140] See Appendix I, for further bibliographical information see also Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on *Bar do-s*, XXIV (text XXIV.42 is of a later date), see also XL.2116-2120.

[141] Kept in the Tibetan collection of the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin", Hs. Sim. or. JS 3540.

[142] See Appendix I, for further bibliographical information see also Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on *Bar do-s*, XXV.

the *'Ja' tshon pod drug*[143] (especially *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*-related texts)[144], revealed by the *gter ston Las 'phro gliṅ pa* (1585-1656), who is also named *Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon sñiṅ po*[145];

and the *mKha' 'gro gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi rgyud* (especially the *gSaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs daṅ pho ba'i man ṅag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs*, XXVI.235)[146] connected with the names of the *gter ston gTer bdag gliṅ pa* (1646-1714) and his son *Padma bźad pa'i rdo rje* (1697?-?)[147].

In these texts the treatment of *bar do-s* is already quite elaborate, so much so, that it would be advisable, here and in the following, to concentrate as well as possible on passages specifically concerned with a *chos ñid bar do* and to leave descriptions of a *'chi kha'i bar do*, a *srid pa'i bar do* and other *bar do-s* aside as for now. As far as *Buddhist* literature is concerned, the first four groups mentioned contain texts featuring the earliest, more or less elaborate descriptions of a *chos ñid bar do* (as we shall see in the third paragraph of this chapter, there are probably earlier references to an equivalent *bar do*, a *źi khro bar do*, and a *bon ñid 'od gsal gyi bar do* in "*Bon*" and "*Bon*"-*rDzogs chen*-texts).
As will be shown in the next paragraph, the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is the only testimony amongst the *Buddhist* texts mentioned, which features an actual enumeration and description of a *maṇḍala* of peaceful and wrathful deities in a *chos ñid bar do*. The treatment of the *chos ñid bar do* there is moreover the most comprehensive one extant, that is, if we include the description of the *maṇḍala*. The *Ñi zla kha sbyor* on the other hand gives, as we shall see, a more in-depth treatment of a *chos ñid bar do* as such. It is difficult to decide at this point which is the older of the two, since both texts appear in collections of not too certain a date. The texts do not present reliable clues as to their first conception, there origin soon becomes shrouded in the mists of legendary names. The dates of the relevant works in the *sÑiṅ thig ya bźi* by *Kloṅ chen pa dri med 'od zer* equally disappear into the haze of legend as soon as we venture out beyond the life-time of its learned compiler (and, sometimes, author). The

[143] See Appendix I.

[144] See e.g. the *Yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po mṅon rtogs* (XLI.MS1460); the *Yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i phyag len chog sgrigs bklags chog tu bkod pa 'ja' tshon dgoṅs pa rgyan* (XL.1399); the *Yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ de'i cha lag Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i las byan don gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgoṅs brgyan* (XL.1079/1083), as indicated in the title extant in the *('Ja' tshon) dKon mchog spyi 'dus*-cycle of the *'Ja' tshon pod drug* (edited by Taklung Tsetrul Pema Wangyal, Darjeeling 1979-82, see also the *rÑiṅ ma'i rgyud 'bum* Vols.IIIff.). And also the later *Zab chos źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i sgo nas raṅ (daṅ) gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las(/m) rim 'khor (/'tshol) ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod* (XL.667[1], XLII.9, private copy[2], XL.1416); also *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po* (XL.652 and 3505) written by *Ṅag dbaṅ kun dga' bstan 'dzin* (1680/81-1728/9) on the basis of the *gter ma-s* revealed by the *gter ston Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon sñiṅ po* (1585-1656).

[1] Only in the title-description *daṅ* is left out and *'khor ba* is replaced by *'tshol ba*.
[2] Only this BP. distinctly has *lam*.

[145] See Appendix I.

[146] See Appendix I, for further bibliographical information see Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on *Bar do-s*, XXVI.

[147] Compiled from the *Thugs rje chen po bde gśegs kun 'dus*, discovered by *gTer bdag gliṅ pa* in 1680, written down by his son *Padma 'gyur med rgya mtsho* (1686-1718) in 1713. The *yum*-part of this work was extended by *Padma bźad pa'i rdo rje* into the *mKha' 'gro gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi rgyud* (see Shuh (1985), p.XXVIII). Both XXVI.149 and XXVI.126 belong to the later revision.

only clues left to us are the nature and development of the doctrines and ideas presented in the texts themselves.

Even if the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* were older then the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, of which Namkhai Norbu[148] is convinced and which Orofino seems to take for granted, it might be wise to consider more complex situations of transmission than a direct borrowing of the tenets of the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* into the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, as is presumed by Namkhai Norbu[149] and Orofino[150].

Judging by doctrinal content, there might very well be evidence of direct or indirect borrowings from the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* in more similar presentations like the later exposition of the *bKa' rgyud 'brug pa*-scholar *rTse le sna tshogs raṅ grol Rin po che* (1608-?) in his *Bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam pa gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me loṅ*[151]. The descriptions of a *chos ñid bar do* in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, however, are too divergent from those in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* to allow such a strong dependence as suggested by Namkhai Norbu and Orofino. The *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* leans heavily on the description of *źi khro*, the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* in turn concentrates on descriptions of general experiences of luminosity and colour, often in geometrical shapes, and features quite numerous references to specific *rDzogs chen*-practices. In addition to that, the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* makes, as far as its theoretical doctrinal content is concerned, a much less developed impression than the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, that is, of course, except for the description of the peaceful and wrathful deities. On the other hand, the enumeration and elaborate descriptions of *źi khro*, so prominent in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* are conspicuously absent in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, their appearance is referred to as one of the experiences of light and colour, and that is all.

All well considered, I feel inclined to assume more *bar do-*, *chos ñid bar do-* and *źi khro*-traditions than just one single line into which all textual material should neatly fit in a chronological manner, regardless of the tradition it originated from:

the traditions of the *(bKa' rgyud pa-)siddha-s* discussed above seem to represent rather unique and specific strands of *bar* do-teachings focusing on the practice of *rtsa rluṅ-yoga*;

the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* seems to represent another quite distinctive strand of teachings and practices focusing on experiences of luminosity, which are by the way rather prominent in "*Bon*"-*rDzogs chen*-traditions[152], the *Źi ba bar do*

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[148] See Orofino (1985), pp.4f., the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* is said to be taught for the first time by *dGa' rab rdo rje*, who, according to Namkhai Norbu was born three hundred and sixty years after *Buddha's parinirvāṇa* in the Tibetan year of the female wood sheep, on the eighteenth day of the first month in the country of *Uḍḍiyāna*, and who according to legend, indeed, precedes *Padmasambhava*, the supposed author of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, in the line of transmission.

[149] See Orofino (1985), pp.4f., especially the hypothetical derivation of the sub-division of *bar do*-states in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* from the classification used in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*.

[150] See the second paragraph of p.58, n.57 (cf. p.46, translation): "This passage is of major interest because it is the essential nucleus from which are derived the detailed descriptions of the visionary manifestations of the peaceful and terrifying divinities of the *Bar-do thos-grol*."

[151] In the *rTse le sna tshogs raṅ grol gyi gsuṅ 'bum*, accessible in the IASWR-microfiche-edition, fiche 2352/3 R-2281/2, based on a reprint of a manuscript from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche edited by Sanje Dorje, Vol.II, chapter 3, pp.139-233, Delhi 1974.

[152] See e.g. Karmay (1988), pp.203-205, discussing the text *(rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud las) 'Khor lo bźi sbrag*, especially the fourth section called *bar do dus kyi 'khor lo*, also extant in the *rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud kyi gsuṅ phod*, see Chandra (1964), pp.446-465; cf. also the *(rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud las) 'Od gsal sems kyi me loṅ*, Chandra (1964), pp.583-599.

*lam gyi mtshan ñid*[153] in the (*mKha' 'gro yaṅ thig*) of the *sÑiṅ thig ya bźi* collected by *Kloṅ chen pa dri med 'od zer* borrows heavily from the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* is frequently mentioned as one of the many sources that are cited in this text, this tradition probably continued into later presentations like the *Bar do spyi'i don* and is still extant in more recent *rDzogs chen*-presentations as e.g. by Sogyal Rinpoche[154];

the *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-cycles are very much concerned with *Mahāyoga*-like visualisation-practices, they feature the first elaborate descriptions of *źi khro* in a separate *bar do* in a "*Buddhist*" context -- the most elaborate one being recorded in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*[155] -- and they appear to focus on practices concerning these peaceful and wrathful deities, also in their later compilations; the *gSaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs daṅ pho ba'i man ṅag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs*, XXVI.235) from the *mKha' 'gro gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi rgyud* follows the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* almost verbatim, omitting certain passages and commenting on others;

then there is the late strand of the *'ja' tshon źi khro*, a *źi khro*-tradition according to the *gter ston Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon sñiṅ po*, which does not seem to be more than a variant of the *kar gliṅ źi khro*, equally focusing on practices concerning *źi khro* but featuring an extended *maṇḍala* of one hundred and seven(teen) deities (instead of one hundred( and ten) in the *kar gliṅ źi khro*); I will discuss some of this material in the second and third chapters of this thesis;

and lastly there are, as we shall see in the third paragraph of this chapter, early "*Bon*"-*rDzogs chen*-presentations of a *źi khro bar do*, e.g. the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo*, a (diverging) *maṇḍala* of *źi khro* is actually described at some length, but this text is, apart from the description of the *maṇḍala*, rather poorly equipped on a more theoretical doctrinal level.

I shall return to this question of descent at the end of this chapter, when the contents of some "*Bon*"-texts regarding these subjects have been assessed. We shall now take a brief look at some of the schemes of *bar do-s* used in the above-mentioned texts[156].

The *Ka dag raṅ 'byuṅ raṅ śar*-cycle contains a very interesting and probably relatively ancient text, the *Bar do lṅa'i ṅo sprod*. The teaching called *Bar do lṅa'i ṅo sprod* is said to be revealed in the country of Tibet by *Padmasambhava* and put to writing at *Brag dmar*[157] in glorious *bSam yas*; it was requested by King *Khri sroṅ lde'u*

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[153] See XXIII.1318h, pp.133-154.

[154] See Sogyal Rinpoche (1992), pp.274-286.

[155] See amongst many others the *Chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol* (*III.5, *IV.2.9, *V.17, *VI.11, *VIII.17, *X.19.6,=187.17, *XII.3, *XIII.662,663(2x=), *XIV.1232,1233,1235,1236), also called *Chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag(s)* (*I.7, *II.5[1], *VII.1.11, *VIII.17, *XI.8=XIV.1237, *XIV.1234,1237=XI.8,1238), this text is very frequently met with in *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-cycles. The text is translated, I must say rather freely, by Thurman (1994), pp.205-225. For more bibliographical information see Appendix I.

[1] Reading: *lags*.

[156] In the following the references to the different *bar do-s* as they occur in the text will not be given anymore, unless there is a special reason to do so; most *bar do-s* are referred to so often throughout the texts discussed here that precise reference to all loci would be a burden more than anything else.

[157] Name of a rock in or near *Lho sa*, allegedly not to be identified with *dMar po ri* (Jäschke (1881), p.380a)

*btsan* at the time when a *gaṇacakra* was prepared in the three-storied pinnacle (of *bSam yas* monastery). The text might well date back to the eighth century or earlier. Here we find, as the title announces, five *bar do-s* listed; a *chos ñid bar do* is not yet mentioned here (XXV.127, folio 2r, l.1 - 2v, l.1)[158]:

*raṅ bźin gnas pa'i bar (ma) do*;
*tiṅ ṅe 'dzin gyi bar (ma) do*;
*rmi lam gyi bar do*;
*skye śi bar do*;
*srid pa'i bar (ma) do*.

In the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, also, five[159] *bar do-s* are mentioned, four of which (all except the second) are actually discussed in the text:

*raṅ bźin (gnas pa'i) bar do*;
*tiṅ ṅe 'dzin gyi bar do*[160];
*'chi kha'i bar do* or *'chi ba( ma')i bar do*;
*chos ñid (kyi) bar do* or *chos ñid dag gi bar do*;
*srid pa('i) bar do*.

In the *sÑiṅ thig ya bźi* only four *bar do-s* are mentioned[161]:

*skye(s) nas gnas pa'i bar do* or *skye gnas kyi bar do*;
*'chi kha('i) bar do* or *'chi ka'i bar do*;
*chos ñid (kyi) bar do*, divided into a *źi ba bar do* and a *khro bo bar do*;
*srid pa('i) bar do*.

Though there are teachings and practices regarding dreams in the *sÑiṅ thig ya bźi*[162], a *rmi lam gyi bar do* is not mentioned.

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[158] See text-edition in Appendix II.

[159] Namkhai Norbu presents (Orofino (1985), pp.5f.) a deviating list of five *bar do-s*, which he cites from the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, (no locus citorum). The first five lines of his quotation are indeed to be found in *rÑiṅ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*, Delhi, 1973, Vol.III, p.186, l.4, the following six lines, however, reading:

"*The doctrine of the* bar-do *is subdivided into five states:*
*the* bar-do *of nature*,
*the* bar-do *of the state of* samadhi,
*the* bar-do *of dream*,
*the* bar-do *of birth and death*,
*the* bar-do *of existence*,

do not appear in my text. Furthermore, I could not find a single reference to a "*bar do* of dream" (*rmi lam bar do*); nor did I find a reference to a "*bar do* of birth and death" (*skye śi bar do*?) and in addition to that the text clearly refers to a *chos ñid bar do*, which appears to be lacking in Namkhai Norbu's list. His list is, however, remarkably similar (same names and same order) to the one we found in the *Bar do lha'i ṅo sprod* referred to above!

[160] Only mentioned once (Orofino (1985), p.110, l.13). This *bar do* is not mentioned by Orofino (1985, pp.10f.) in her list.

[161] See for instance the *Źi ba bar do lam gyi mtshan ñid*, XXIII.1318.1.h (pp.133-154), said to be compiled by the legendary *Padmasambhava* and the short text called *Chos ñid bar do'i yon tan*, XXIII.1318.1.l (pp.191-195).

[162] See e.g. the *rMi lam shubs 'jug*, XXIII.1321.1.n (pp.108-116).

And in the important *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-text, the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, six *bar do-s* are listed, see e.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.14, l.18 - p.15, l.1:

> *raṅ bźin skye gnas bar do*;
> *rmi lam gyi bar do*;
> *tiṅ ṅe 'dzin bsam gtan gyi bar do*;
> *'chi kha'i bar do*;
> *chos ñid (kyi) bar do*, also divided into a *źi ba bar do* and a *khro bo bar do*[163];
> *srid pa('i) bar do*.

The names of three *bar do-s* pertaining to death[164] and of a *bar do* pertaining to life are mentioned in all texts from the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* onward, except for the set mentioned in the *Bar do lṅa'i ṅo sprod*, which is remarkably distinct from the other listings and to which we shall return soon hereafter.
The *bar do-s* pertaining to dream (*rmi lam*) and states of meditative absorption (*tiṅ ṅe 'dzin* or in *Skt. samādhi(samāpatti)-s*[165]) are not always mentioned, though they do appear fairly early (the *Bar do lṅa'i ṅo sprod* and the *Nā ro pa'i rnam thar*).
Considering these *bar do-s* and considering the four *bhava-s* described in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, it would not require much effort to jump to the conclusion that *bar do-s* described in relation to birth and death form the oldest core[166] and that the dream- and meditation-*bar do-s* are later aecretions. That is to say, categories that for some reason or other were important to the traditions in which these *bar do*-speculations evolved[167], were at times fitted into the *bar do*-scheme that was then current in the tradition involved. It would take far greater effort, indeed, to refrain from any such conclusions here, nevertheless this might still be the most wise position to take at this point.
We shall now take a closer look at one of these lists of *bar do-s* and, starting from there, see if the *bar do-s* that are referred to with similar names in the diverse lists were actually eonceived in like manner. For reasons of space we have to content ourselves with the most general characteristics, a more in-depth treatment of the *chos ñid bar do* and its "*Bon*"-equivalent will appear in the following two paragraphs.

The set of five *bar do-s* that we find mentioned in the *Bar do lṅa'i ṅo sprod* is -- as amongst other things the absence of a *chos ñid bar do* indicates -- most probably of ancient origin, it shows a level of development close to that of the (nonetheless dissimilar) sets mentioned in the *Nā ro pa'i rnam thar* and the *mGur 'bum*. On the first pages of the *Bar do lṅa'i ṅo sprod* a short characterisation of the five *bar do-s* is presented[168]:

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[163] See e.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.43, ll.7-9.

[164] See the typical enumeration following the list of six *bar do-s* in Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.15, ll.2-4

[165] Or as the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* has it, *tiṅ ṅe 'dzin bsam gtan*: the stages of meditation (*dhyāna*) regarding these *samādhi(samāpatti)-s*.

[166] As may be sufficiently clear from the presentation of older *Pāli* material above, the term *antarābhava* -- which, as the Tibetan (mis)translation indicates, is the actual *bhava* referred to in Tibetan when using the term *bar (ma) do* (<*Skt. antarā*) for *bhava* (and *antarābhava*) -- was primarily used in reference to a state, phase or being in between death and (most) rebirths, all other states being, from the Tibetan point of view, derivations.

[167] Note that these *bar do-s* are to a certain extent related, both pertain to a changed level of consciousness (whatever that may be) and both form part of a *bar do* of life (see e.g. the *rÑiṅ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*, Delhi, 1973, Vol.III, pp.170, ll.5ff.); the practice-oriented background of most *bar do*-teachings is clearly visible here.

[168] XXV.127, folio 2r, l.1 - 2v, l.1, see text-edition in Appendix II.

As to the *bar do-s*, there are five (of them):
The "***raṅ bźin gnas pa'i bar do***" is said to be in the interval of meeting with the present state of affairs[169] as due to illusion; for this instructions for investigating knowledge are necessary[170].
The "***tiṅ ṅe 'dzin bsam gtan gyi bar do***" is said to be in the interval of contemplating *dharmatā* after having turned from the illusory appearances of *yoga*(-visualisation-practice); for that instructions for detachment regarding the object of contemplation are necessary[171] (later-on[172] it is stated that regarding the instructions for contemplation and meditative absorption, clarifying what is not clear, instructions for those who did not understand (the nature of) luminosity are necessary)[173].
The "***rmi lam gyi bar do***" is said to be in the interval from falling asleep until (the moment of) not (yet) having woken up; for that instructions for becoming purified are necessary (later-on[174] it is stated that instructions for clarifying cognition are necessary, at the end[175] of this section on *rmi lam gyi bar do* also described as instructions for examining cognition)[176].
The "***skye śi bar do***" is said to be in the interval from cognition of (the point of) death until (the moment that) breath has not (yet) ceased; for this instructions for understanding cognition (at death) are necessary[177].
The "***srid pa'i bar do***" is said to be in the interval from the fainting and (consequent) recovering of awareness until (the moment of) not (yet) having entered into a womb; for that instructions for obtaining the result are necessary (later-on[178] it is stated that instructions regarding the bridge of cognition not being broken are necessary, at the end of the section[179] on *srid pa'i bar do* also described as instructions for the meeting of son and mother *dharmatā*)[180].
Thus it is said.

With a few exceptions, these characterisations match closely enough with the general characteristics of their namesakes. Remarkable, however, is the deviating interpretation of the term *skye śi bar do*, which in this text apparently refers to what is elsewhere called *'chi kha'i bar do*[181]. This is quite different form the use of this term in the *Nā ro pa'i rnam thar* and the *mGur 'bum*, where it refers to what is, again elsewhere, styled as *(raṅ bźin) skye gnas bar do*[182] or *raṅ bźin (gnas pa'i) bar do*[183] (equivalent to the *pūrvakālabhava* mentioned in *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*). In this connection, I should also like to note a second deviation, in the ***mGur 'bum*** the term *skye gnas brgyud pa'i bar do* is interpreted as a *bar do* pertaining to

[169] Literally substance, thing or being (*chos*).
[170] Elaborated XXV.127, folios 2v, l.1 - 3v, l.2.
[171] I.e. visualisation.
[172] XXV.127, folios 3v, ll.2f. and 4r, l.4.
[173] Elaborated XXV.127, folios 3v, l.2 - 4r, l.4.
[174] XXV.127, folio 4r, l.5.
[175] XXV.127, folio 4r, l.4.
[176] Elaborated XXV.127, folio 4r, l.5 - 4v, l.4.
[177] Elaborated XXV.127, folios 4v, l.4 - 5v, l.4.
[178] XXV.127, folio 5v, l.5.
[179] XXV.127, folio 6r, l.5.
[180] Elaborated XXV.127, folios 5v, l.4 - 6r, l.5.
[181] E.g. in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* and the *Kar gliṅ źi khro*.
[182] E.g. *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and the *Źi ba bar do lam gyi mtshan ñid*.
[183] E.g. here, in the *Bar do lṅa'i ṅo sprod*, and in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*.

birth, equivalent to the *upapattibhava* mentioned in *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, whieh usage does not eonform with the general eonception of the above *(raṅ bźin) skyes gnas* or *raṅ bźin gyi bar do* as an interval between birth and death.

Before drawing any more definite conclusions concerning a relative chronology and possible borrowings in the *bar do*-material presented so far, I should like to discuss a late but -- just because of its relatively late appearance -- significant arrival amongst the *bar do-s* that in *Buddhist* circles was styled *chos ñid kyi bar do*. This discussion will be initiated in the next paragraph, when examining some of the developments in the concepts of peaceful and wrathful deities that are relevant to these *bar do-s*, and it will be continued into the third and last paragraph of this chapter.

In the preceding paragraph some general developments regarding concepts of one (or more) intermediate state(s) have been examined. In this paragraph I should like to initiate a closer examination of a relatively late stage in these developments, the *chos ñid* (or in "*Bon*"-traditions *źi khro*) *bar do*. Immediately after death and preceding the old conception of a single state between death and possible rebirth (= *bar ma do srid pa* and later *srid pa'i bar do*) an intermediate state has been conceptualised in which intense experiences of colour and luminosity are said to occur and which, in its most elaborate form, results in a vision of *maṇḍala-s* of peaceful and wrathful deities. As we shall soon see, the descriptions of such visionary experiences, some clearly reminiscent of those generated in *Mahāyoga*-practices, are an important ingredient of many of the presentations of a *chos ñid bar do*. An elaborate description or enumeration of peaceful and wrathful deities is not always present, but general references to *maṇḍala-s* of deities do occur in most instances.

It are these peaceful and wrathful deities that we are concerned with here. For the obvious reasons that time for research and space for publication are limited, I cannot trace the developments of these *maṇḍala-s* back to the earliest conceptions in Indian *tantric* traditions of more or less elaborate *maṇḍala-s* in which deities of *śānta* and *krodha* nature appear together; nor is it feasible to track down the several groups of deities mentioned, let alone to study each single deity described, and sketch its lines of transmission and development, (changes in) iconographical characteristics, etc.. This investigation will start at the point where a more or less set concept of a *maṇḍala* of one hundred or more peaceful and wrathful deities seems to have become an established topic in Indian and Tibetan *tantric Buddhist* as well as "*Bon*"-theory and -practice. Even though this concept was evidently derived from similar *maṇḍala-s* in earlier *Buddhist* and Hindu *tantric* traditions, I should like to leave these origins, however interesting they may seem, aside for the time being. I shall here concentrate on the fact that these *maṇḍala-s* of deities in the course of time seem to have become a more or less fixed entity appearing and reappearing here and there in Tibetan (especially *rÑiṅ ma* and "*Bon*"-*rDzogs chen*-)literature, some of which might or might not have been translated from Indian originals, that is to say, some of which might actually be of Indian origin. And of even more interest is the fact that after some rounds in this process of recyclation these *maṇḍala-s* ultimately became strongly associated with an after-death-state, so much so, that in due course the term *źi khro* in both *Buddhist* and "*Bon*"-traditions came to refer to the specific *maṇḍala-s* of peaceful and wrathful deities described for the *chos ñid* and *źi khro bar do-s*.

The *maṇḍala* that is being recycled is most probably greatly indebted[184] to an interesting and controversial[185] group of "old" *tantra-s*, usually referred to as the *Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścayamahātantra* (Tib. *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa*, also called: *rGyud gsaṅ ba sñiṅ po*; *sGyu 'phrul rtsa rgyud*; *sGyu 'phrul gsaṅ ba sñiṅ po*; *gSaṅ ba sñiṅ po*; *sÑiṅ po*; *sÑiṅ po'i rgyud*; *rTsa rgyud gsaṅ ba sñiṅ po*; and *gSaṅ*

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[184] References to this link are to be found in Ehrhard (1990), n.144, (p.124), Ehrhard refers here to two texts by *gŹan phan mtha' yas* (1800-?), to wit the *gNad 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sñiṅ por dril ba* (p.515, ll.6ff.) and the *sKya reṅs daṅ po* (p.404, ll.1-3), according to Ehrhard, *gŹan phan mtha' yas* also mentions the *Dri med bśags pa'i rgyud* as a source for the *kar gliṅ źi khro*; and also, briefly, in a popularising exposé by Thurman (1994, p.86) preceding ditto translations of *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-texts.

[185] Especially the rites concerning sexual union (*sbyor*) and "deliverance" (*sgrol*) as expounded in chapter 11 of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* (XXI.14.p.34, l.5 - p.37, l.5, esp. p.35, ll.5f.) have at times stood under severe criticism (see Karmay (1988), pp.221-223, see further references there, especially Karmay (1979)).

*ba sgyu 'phrul*, Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, Vol.II, pp.262 & 275)). The cycle is extant in the *rÑiṅ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*-section of the *rÑiṅ ma'i rgyud 'bum*[186] and several of the *tantra-s* and commentaries[187] can be found in the *bsTan 'gyur*[188]. In a colophon to the root-*tantra*[189] that is presented first in the *rGyud 'bum*, the translators *sÑags Jñānakumāra* (eighth century AD) and the *Ācārya* from *rMa*, *Rin chen mchog* (7??-836)[190], are mentioned. They are said to have translated this text on the basis of authoritative oral instruction by *Vimalamitra* (eighth century AD?)[191]. From this information we can infer that the root-*tantra* was (indeed) translated during the first translation period (*sṅa dar*), the Indian original(s)[192] probably reach back sometime before the eighth century AD. In *rÑiṅ ma* tradition the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* is considered to be something like a standard authoritative treatise on *Mahāyoga*. Most probably this cycle of texts has also been of general importance for the development *rDzogs chen*-traditions[193].

In the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* a *maṇḍala* of one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities is already extant. It is quite similar to the one described for the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, with the prominent exception of the central *Buddha* of the *maṇḍala*, which in the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* (and, as we will soon see, in some other texts) is not *Vairocana* (*rNam par snaṅ mdzad*) but *Vajrasattva-Akṣobhya* (*rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa*)[194], the absence of the *maṇḍala* of *Rig 'dzin*, and a deviating set of powerful *Yoginī-s*. The root-*tantra* does not mention or describe the individual peaceful deities. From this we might deduce that at the time of composition of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*, the *maṇḍala* discussed was already common knowledge or practice among the *tantric* adepts concerned with this *tantra*, but on the other hand, we should also be aware of the fact that this kind of information would usually already have been transmitted at

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[186] In the fourteenth volume of the Dilgo Khyentse-edition, for further bibliographical references see Appendix I. A translation is extant, though rather difficult to access, in an unpublished study by G. Dorje, The Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścayamahātantra and its XIVth Century Tibetan Commentary Phyogs bcu mun sel, three volumes, unpublished Ph.D.-Thesis, University of London 1987.
Of possible interest is also the *dPal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i rgyud kyi khog dbub* (XL.4103), an eleventh-century history of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*.

[187] The following commentaries that are extant in the *bsTan 'gyur* were consulted:
*rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i 'grel pa* (XX.PTT.82.248.1.5 - 279.4.7) = comm.1;
*dPal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa('i) rgya cher bśad pa'i 'grel pa* (XX.PTT.83.1.1.3 - 70.3.7) = comm.2;
*dPal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i don bsdus 'grel piṇḍārtha* (XX.PTT.83.177.1.1 - 188.4.6) = comm.3;
(*dPal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i rim pa gñis kyi don*[1] (XX.PTT.83.262.2.4 - 3.6) = comm.4).

[1] The table of contents to the PTT-edition reads *doṅ*.

[188] See also Appendix I.

[189] *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa* (XXI.14.1-61), p.6, ll.6f..

[190] According to Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, Vol.I, p.533) *Vimalamitra* transmitted these teachings to *rMa rin chen mchog* and translated them together with him, while *sÑags Jñānakumāra* received the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* from *Padmasambhava*. The second text in this section of the *rGyud 'bum*, a short text called *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po phyi ma* (XXI.14.62-67), p.67, ll.4f., mentions a *Jñānagarbha* (not to confuse a later *Jñānagarbha*, one of *Mar pa's* teachers, *Ye śes sñiṅ po* (= *Jñānagarbha*) or *Thar pa lam ston*, also called *Kukuri pa*) and *Vairocana* as translators.

[191] According to Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, Vol.I, p.481) *Vimalamitra* was particularly learned in the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* and wrote numerous commentaries on this cycle (listed ibid. p.481).

[192] An interesting short apologetic writing in defense of amongst others -- i.e. the well-known four faults (*skyon bźi*) attributed to the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*, see Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, Vol.II, p.130) -- an Indian origin of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*, is translated almost in full by Kapstein in Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, Vol.I, pp.114-117) from the Collected Writings of Sog zlog pa (Vol.I, pp.524-526).

[193] See for instance Ehrhard, pp.8-17, esp. pp.9f..

[194] Later this was considered by some to be one of the four "faults" of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*.

another occasion (i.e. by word of mouth of a *guru*), so that such a brief textual reference would have been sufficient for a *tantric* practitioner anyway. In general the wrathful deities are presented in a more elaborate manner than the peaceful ones (even quite elaborate iconographical descriptions do occasionally appear in one of the commentaries[195]).

In chapters fifteen and sixteen of the root-*tantra*[196] several of the fifty-eight wrathful deities are mentioned, some of their familiar *Saṃskṛt* names appear in *mantra-s* and *dhāraṇī-s* cited in chapter sixteen. In the corresponding chapters of the commentaries consulted some more names and explanations appear along with an occasional description, but in general the deities are referred to as a group that in one way or the other should be familiar and of which consequently, pars pro toto, only the first (few) members need to be mentioned.

In the fourth chapter[197] the root-*tantra* presents the so-called *maṇḍala* of the "rosary of letters (*yi ge'i 'phreṅ ba*)". With this presentation of letters or syllables the peaceful *maṇḍala* appears to be intended, in fact, all *dharma-s* of the six realms are said to be comprised by this *maṇḍala* of letters[198]. For the actual names of the peaceful deities we have to consult the commentaries, in the root-*tantra* there is no reference whatsoever, neither to their usual names nor to their descriptions (attributes of the deities are mentioned in chapter eight). In the seventh chapter[199], however, in which a summary of the *maṇḍala* and some *mantra-s* and *dhāraṇī-s* pertaining to it are presented, a few names (mainly of the female *Bodhisattva*-consorts) do appear. The set of forty-two *āli* and *kāli* (in this case rather *kāli* and *āli*)[200] letters and syllables that are discussed in that fourth chapter are arranged in an order that comes close to a *Saṃskṛt* alphabet but also has some features of a Tibetan alphabet as well as some peculiarities not common to either of them[201].

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[195] E.g. XX.PTT.83.58.4.5ff..

[196] See XXI.14.1-61, p.42, l.2 - p.52, l.7, see also the commentaries XX.PTT.82.273.2.4 - 274.5.7, XX.PTT.83.56.3.7 - 62.1.6, XX.PTT.83.186.3.7 - 187.1.4.

[197] See XXI.14.1-61. p.13, l.5 - p.16, l.7, see also the commentaries XX.PTT.82.256.4.1 - 258.1.4, XX.PTT.83.29.2.8 - 33.5.6, XX.PTT.83.181.2.4 - 182.1.3.

[198] In XX.PTT.83.31.3.7 - 4.5, mention is made of diverging shapes of the deities attributed to the *āli* and *kāli*, different from those described in the commentary above; an example of these deviating shapes is listed there.

[199] See XXI.14.1-61., p.21, l.5 - p.24, l.5, see also the commentaries XX.PTT.82.260.5.8 - 262.1.8, XX.PTT.83.38.2.4 - 39.2.2, XX.PTT.83.183.1.3 - 4.1.

[200] According to Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, p.292) the term *ālikāli* is employed as a name for *sbyor* and *sgrol*, rites concerning sexual union and "deliverance".

[201] See Snellgrove (1987), p.459.

From a white ཨ་

the forty-two syllables depicted in the table below to the left are said to emanate. In the commentaries the *āli* and *kāli* are explieitly and repeatedly identified as the *sa bon* (*Skt. bīja-s*) of the male and female peaceful deities (and *Bodhisattva-s*), for instance already right at the beginning of commentary 2[202] by *Ñi ma'i seṅ ge'i 'od* in a short introductory survey of the contents of the several chapters of the root-*tantra*. In the seventh chapter, however, we also find other and more familiar *bīja-s* associated with these deities in the *Saṃskṛt* transliteration of *mantra-s* and *dhāraṇī-s*.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ཀ་ | ཁ་ | ག་ | གྷ་ | ང་། |
| ཙ་ | ཚ: | ཛ་ | ཛྷ་ | ཉ། |
| ཊ་ | ཋ་ | ཌ་ | ཌྷ་ | ཎ། |
| ཏ་ | ཐ་ | ད་ | དྷ་ | ན། |
| པ་ | ཕ་ | བ་ | བྷ་ | མ། |
| ཡ་ | ཝ་ | ར་ | ལ། | |
| ཤ་ | ཥ་ | སྭ | ཧ། | |
| ཀྵ། | | | | |
| ཨི་ | ཨཱི། | | | |
| ཨུ་ | ཨཱུ། | | | |
| ཨེ་ | ཨཱེ། | | | |
| ཨོ་ | ཨཱོ། | | | |

Note that, in accordance with Tibetan custom, the vowels are listed after the consonant(-ligatures), moreover, the *Saṃskṛt ā* and all the retroflex-vowels are lacking in the root-*tantra*[203]. The *wa* or *va* is neither arranged according to the *Saṃskṛt* alphabetical order (after *la*) nor according to the Tibetan alphabetical order (preceding (*źa*, *za*, *'a*,) *ya*, *ra*, *la*, the first three of which are not extant here). The *kṣa*, one of the few *Saṃskṛt* ligatures that survived in a modern Indo-Aryan language like *Hindī*, is added as a thirty-fourth consonant. Furthermore in the *rGyud 'bum*-version there is no *tsheg* between the *swa* (sic!) and the *ha*, thus suggesting the auspicious *Saṃskṛt* interjection *svāhā*. Lastly the transliteration of the diphthongs into Tibetan is (in the *rGyud 'bum* version)[204] indicated by a subscribed *'a chuṅ*-elongation-sign and not by the more usual doubling of the *dreṅ bu*- and *na ro*-diacritics.

In the latter part of the fourth chapter and in the commentaries to this chapter, these syllables (including

[202] See XX.PTT.83.3.3.5f., the identification is repeated on many occasions in this commentary, see e.g. the very explicit reference at XX.PTT.83.30.1.4f.. The commentary was translated by the Indian *paṇḍita Pra swa ta la* and by the *lo tsa ba Pad ma ru tshe*; for additional bibliographical information see Appendix I.

[203] In the PTT-edition the long vowel *ā* does appear, however, and in one of the commentaries (e.g. XX.PTT.83.18.3.8, and 31.2-5) all *Saṃskṛt* vowels including the retroflexes and two additions (*aṃ* and *aḥ*) are discussed (in the correct order with the fictive *aṃ* and *aḥ* at the end), the retroflexes are styled *ma niṅ* (XX.PTT.83.29.5.7f., 31.1.1f.).

[204] All the many irregularities and variant readings that appear at this (and other) points in the PTT-edition of the root-*tantra* and other *rGyud 'bum*- and PTT-*tantra-s* and commentaries belonging to this cycle will not be listed here; especially the transliteration of *Saṃskṛt* words and letters is often faulty and inconsequent.

*mgo*, *tig*, and *śad*) are explained further by equating them to all kinds of metaphysical and psycho-physical categories; we shall return to these equations in chapter two and three of this thesis.

In the following three tables I shall present as much of the one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities as I can gather from the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* and compare them to the corresponding deities that are extant in later presentations in a *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-text, the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*[205], and a *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-text[206], the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus* (third column[207]). In the tables the deities will be listed under the names that appear in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (first two columns). They are moreover arranged according to the order of their appearance in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*[208], the corresponding names gathered from the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*[209] are adjusted to this order. In the first table the *bījamantra-s* used in the *Kar gliṅ/'Ja' tshon źi khro* (*bīja* I[210]) and those used in the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* (*bīja* II) are also compared. Except for the several *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*-editions the spelling of the names and categories is not corrected, the often faulty transliterations of *Saṃskṛt* names are presented as they appear.

The *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* discusses the peaceful deities in accordance with the arrangement of the seed-syllables in the above table, the original order of the deities can thus easily be reconstructed from the *bījamantra-s* (II) in the sixth column of the first table. The wrathful deities are, if they are rearranged, numbered, starting anew for each group. The group of twenty-eight animal-headed *Yoginī-s* appears twice in the root-*tantra* (chapter fifteen) with a slightly diverging composition (commentary 2 follows the second *maṇḍala*); the column "*gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*" is therefore split into two sub-columns.

The female deities are usually listed en group after their male counterparts, the couples have been reconstructed from the order of appearance of the groups in commentary 2 of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* and the coupling present in the *kar gliṅ źi khro-maṇḍala*.

While most differences between the *maṇḍala-s* speak for themselves, a special word is due to the divergent arrangements of the *Bodhisattva-s* and their consorts. In the first table these deities are listed in the order of their appearance in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, that is to say, with the small modifications mentioned above, which are largely sacrifices to clarity in the arrangement of the table. In commentary 2 of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* these deities are listed in an arrangement which differs from the order of appearance in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*; in the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* they appear in a yet different arrangement. These differences are mainly due to the fact that both in commentary 2 of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* and in the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* the deities are listed in larger groups of four and eight deities, consorts following the group(s) of *Bodhisattva-s*, while in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* they are listed in

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205 Apart from the extension with seven deities mentioned below, the *maṇḍala* described in the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po* is practically the same as the one described in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

206 XLI.336b(=653),650,653(=336b), the text is discussed in more detail later-on in this paragraph.

207 This column bears the heading *(Źi khro) sgyu 'phrul*.

208 With exception of the *Bodhisattva-s*, which are listed separately here, but actually appear in two pairs of two (*Bodhisattva-s* together with their consorts) in combination with each of the last four *Tathāgata-s* and their consorts. In the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* the names of each pair of *Bodhisattva-s* is mentioned before the corresponding pair of consorts and this whole group of four is -- as can be gathered from the above -- mentioned after the consort of the *Tathāgata* it is associated with.

209 I.e. the root-*tantra* and commentaries 1 and 2.

210 These *bījamantra-s* are extracted by Lauf (1975, pp.117-158) from various sources.

groups of two. But apart from this there are some actual divergences in order too. These can be seen in the fourth table.
Remarkable is that in the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* the order in which the *Bodhisattva-s* are mentioned does not agree with the arrangement of their consorts, at least, not if we hoped for the same couples that the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* features. Commentary 2 of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* cannot be cheeked in this respect since I arranged the *Bodhisattva-s* according to the names of the consorts, therewith assuming that the listing of the groups of four would be parallel. Even the faculties (*dbaṅ po*, *Skt. indriya*) and corresponding perceptions (*rnam śes*, *Skt. vijñāna*) that are associated with these deities do not match for commentary 2 of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* and the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* (the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* does not discuss these[211]); some deities have different associations, even if we would rearrange the male *Bodhisattva-s* of commentary 2 of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*, according to the diverging arrangement of the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul*. In short, the arrangements of the *Bodhisattva-s* and their consorts are really different in commentary 2 of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*, the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul*, and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

[211] The eight *vijñāna-s* associated with the eight *Bodhisattva-s* of the *'ja' tshon źi khro* are summarised in Lauf, 1975, pp.132-136, esp. pp.134f. (this summary is based on the late presentation in the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*). As Lauf indicates (pp.135f.), other classifications can be met with elsewhere.

## Peaceful Deities (*Źi ba'i Lha tshogs*)

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *sGyu 'phrul* | *bīja* I | *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* | *bīja* II |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | *Ādibuddha* and consort | *Daṅ po saṅs rgyas* | | | | |
| 1 | *Ādibuddhasamantabhadra* | *Daṅ po saṅs rgyas kun tu bzaṅ po* | 1 | | *dPal kun tu bzaṅ po* | *kṣa* |
| 2 | *Samantabhadrī* | *Kun tu bźaṅ mo* | 2 | | *dPal kun tu bzaṅ mo* | |
| B | Five *Tathāgata-s* and consorts | *rGyal ba'i rigs lṅa* *bDe gśegs yum lṅa* | | | | |
| 3 | *Vairocana* | *rNam par snaṅ mdzad* | 3 | *oṃ* | *Mi bskyod pa* | *ta* |
| 4 | *Ākāśadhātvīśvarī* | *Nam mkha'i dbyiṅs phyug ma* | 4* | *laṃ* | *rDo rje dbyiṅs kyi dbaṅ phyug ma* | *ta* |
| 5 | *Vajrasattva-Akṣobhya* | *rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa* | 5 | *hrīḥ* | *rNam par snaṅ mdzad* (comm.2) | *tha* |
| 6 | *Locanā* | *Saṅs rgyas spyan ma* | 6 | *muṃ* | *Saṅs rgyas spyan ma* (comm.2) | *tha* |
| 7 | *Ratnasambhava* | *Rin chen 'byuṅ ldan* | 7 | *traṃ* | *Rin chen 'byuṅ ldan* (comm.2) | *da* |
| 8 | *Māmakī* | transliterated | 8 | *maṃ* | transliterated (comm.2) | *da* |
| 9 | *Amitābha* | *sNaṅ ba mtha' yas* | 9 | *hūṃ* | *sNaṅ ba mtha' yas* (comm.2) | *dha* |
| 10 | *Pāṇḍarā* | *Gos dkar mo* | 10 | *paṃ* | *Na bza' dkar mo* (comm.2) | *dha* |
| 11 | *Amoghasiddhi* | *Don yod grub pa* | 11 | *āḥ* | *Don yod par grub pa* (comm.2) | *na* |
| 12 | *Samayatārā* | *Dam tshig grol ma* | 12 | *taṃ* | *Dam tshig sgrol ma* (comm.2) | *na* |

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *sGyu 'phrul* | *bīja* I | *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* | *bīja* II |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C | **Eight *Mahābodhisattva-s* and consorts** | ***Byaṅ chub sems dpa' chen po brgyad*** ***Byaṅ chub sems ma brgyad*** | | | | |
| 13 | *Kṣitigarbha* | *Sa yi sñiṅ po* | 13[h] | *ksiḥ* | *rDo rje mthoṅ ba* (comm.2)[c] | *ka* |
| 14 | *(Vajra)lāsyā* | transliterated (*rDo rje sgeg mo*) | 21 | *hūṃ* | *rDo rje sgeg mo* (comm.2) | *tsa* |
| 15 | *Maitreya* | *Byams pa* | 18 | *meḥ* | *rDo rje thos byed* (comm.2)[d] | *pha* |
| 16 | *(Vajra)puṣpā* | translit. (*rDo rje me tog ma*) | 26 | *hūṃ* | *rDo rje me tog* (comm.2) | *wa* |
| 17 | *Samantabhadra* | *Kun tu bzaṅ po* | 19 | *hūṃ* | *rDo rje thos pa* (comm.2)[e] | *kha* |
| 18 | *(Vajra)mālā* | translit. (*rDo rje 'phreṅ ba ma*) | 22 | *traṃ* | *rDo rje phreṅ ba ma* (comm.2) | *tsha* |
| 19 | *Ākāśagarbha* | *Nam mkha'i sñiṅ po* | 14 | *triḥ* | *rDo rje mthoṅ byed* (comm.2)[f] | *pa* |
| 20 | *(Vajra)dhūpā* | translit. (*rDo rje bdug spos ma*) | 25 | *dza* | *rDo rje bdug pa* (comm.2) | *ya* |
| 21 | *Avalokiteśvara* | *sPyan ras gzigs* | 15 | *hrīḥ* | *rDo rje myoṅ ba* (comm.2)[g] | *ga* |
| 22 | *(Vajra)gītā* | translit. (*rDo rje sgra dbyaṅs ma*) | 23 | *hrīḥ* | *rDo rje glu ba ma* (comm.2) | *dza* |
| 23 | *Mañjuśrī* | *'Jam dpal dbyaṅs* | 20 | *muṃ* | *rDo rje myoṅ byed* (comm.2)[h] | *ba* |
| 24 | *(Vajra)ālokā* | translit. (*rDo rje mar me ma*) | 27 | *baṃ* | *rDo rje mar me* (comm.2) | *ra* |
| 25 | *Nīvaraṇaviṣkambhin* | *sGrib pa rnam par sel ba* | 17 | *thīḥ* | *rDo rje snom byed* (comm.2)[i] | *bha* |
| 26 | *(Vajra)gandhā* | translit. (*rDo rje dri chab ma*) | 28 | *ho* | *rDo rje dri chab* (comm.2) | *la* |
| 27 | *Vajrapāṇi* | *Phyag na rdo rje* | 16 | *dziḥ* | *rDo rje snom pa* (comm.2)[j] | *gha* |
| 28 | *(Vajra)nṛtyā* | translit. (*Gar bsgyur ma*) | 24 | *a* | *rDo rje gar ba ma* (comm.2) | *dzha* |

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* | *bīja* I | *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* | *bīja* II |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **D** | **Four Gatekeepers and consorts** | ***sGo ba bźi*** ***sGo ma bźi*** | | | | |
| 29 | *Vijaya* | *Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba* | *Khro bo chen po stobs chen po* | *hūṃ* | *Khro ba śes rab thar byed* (comm.2) | *ña* |
| 30 | *Vajrāṅkuśī* | *(rDo rje) lcags skyu ma* | translit.+ *rDo rje lcags skyu ma* | *dzaṃ* | *rDo rje skyob ma* (comm.2) | *śa* |
| 31 | *Yamāntaka* | *(Khro bo) gśin rje gśed po* | *Khro bo chen po gśin rje gśed po* | *hūṃ* | *Khro bo gśin rje gśed* (comm.2) | *ṅa* |
| 32 | *Vajrapāśī* | *(rDo rje) źags ma* | translit.+ *rDo rje źags pa ma* | *hūṃ* | *rDo rje źags ma* (comm.2) | *ma*[k] |
| 33 | *Hayagrīva* | *(Khro bo) rta mgrin rgyal po* | *Khro bo chen po rta mgrin* | *hūṃ* | *Khro bo rta mgrin* (comm.2) | *ma* |
| 34 | *Vajraśṛṅkalā* | *(rDo rje) lcags sgrog ma* | translit.+ *rDo rje lcags sgrog ma* | *baṃ* | *rDo rje lcags sgrog ma* (comm.2) | *sa* |
| 35 | *Amṛtakuṇḍalin* | *(Khro bo) bdud rtsi 'khyil ba* | *Khro bo chen po bdud rtsi 'khyil pa* | *hūṃ* | *Khro bo bdud rtsi 'khyil ba* (comm.2) | *o* |
| 36 | *Vajraghaṇṭā* | *(rDo rje) dril bu ma* | translit.+ *rDo rje dril bu ma* | *ho* | *rDo rje dril bu ma* (comm.2) | *ha* |
| **E** | **Six *Buddha*-s of the *bhavacakra*** | ***sPrul pa'i thub pa drug*** | | | | |
| 37 | *(Indra/ Śakra)* | *brGya byin* | *lha'i thub pa* | *om* | *lha('i thub pa)* (comm.2) | *i* |
| 38 | *(Vemacitra)* | *Thags bzaṅ ris* | *lha ma yin gyi thub pa* | *ma* | *lha ma yin (gyi thub pa)* (comm.2) | *ī* |
| 39 | *Śākyamuni* | *Śākya seṅ ge* | *mi'i thub pa* | *ni* | *mi('i thub pa)* (comm.2) | *u* |
| 40 | *(Siṃha)* | *Seṅ ge rab brtan* | *byol soṅ gi thub pa* | *pad* | *byol soṅ (gi thub pa)* (comm.2) | *ū* |
| 41 | *(Jvālāmukhī)* | *Kha 'bar ma* | *yi dags kyi thub pa* | *me* | *yi dags (kyi thub pa)* (comm.2) | *e* |
| 42 | *Dharmarāja* | *Chos kyi rgyal po* | *dmyal ba'i thub pa* | *hūṃ* | *dmyal ba('i thub pa)* (comm.2) | *ai* |

## Neutral, neither Peaceful nor Wrathful Deities

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* | *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Five *Vidyādhara-s* and consorts** | *Rig 'dzin lṅa* | | |
| 1 | | *Padma gar gyi dbaṅ phyug* | not listed | absent |
| 2 | | consort | not listed | absent |
| 3 | | *Sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin* | referred to elsewhere | absent |
| 4 | | consort | not listed | absent |
| 5 | | *Tshe la dbaṅ ba'i rig 'dzin* | not listed | absent |
| 6 | | consort | not listed | absent |
| 7 | | *Phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin* | referred to elsewhere | absent |
| 8 | | consort | not listed | absent |
| 9 | | *Lhun gyi grub pa'i rig 'dzin* | not listed | absent |
| 10 | | consort | not listed | absent |

## Wrathful Deities (*Khro bo'i Lha tshogs*)

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* | *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | ***Ādiheruka* and consort** (usually absent) | (*Daṅ po he ru ka*) | | *dPal kun tu bzaṅ po he ru ka* |
| | *Mahāśrīheruka* *Krodheśvarī* | *Che mchog he ru ka* transliterated | 1 *dPal che mchog he ru ka* 11 consort | *Ma hā śrī he ru ka* (*rDo rje dbyiṅs kyi*) *dbaṅ phyug ma* |

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* | *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| B | Five *Heruka-s* and *Krodheśvarī*-consorts | (*He ru ka lṅa*) | | |
| 1 | *Buddhaheruka* | transliterated | 3 *Buddha he ru ka* | *Sarba ta thā ga ta mahā śrī her ru ka*[l] |
| 2 | *Buddhakrodheśvarī* | transliterated | 13 *Buddha kro dhi swa ri ma* | *Sarba ta thā ga ta mahā kro tī śwa ri*[m] |
| 3 | *Vajraheruka* | transliterated | 2 *Badzra he ru ka* | *Badzra mahā śrī he ru ka*[n] |
| 4 | *Vajrakrodheśvarī* | transliterated | 12 *Badzra kro dhi swa ri ma* | *Mahā badzra da ra mahā kro tī śwa ri*[o] |
| 5 | *Ratnaheruka* | transliterated | 4 *Ratna he ru ka* | *Ratna mahā śrī he ru ka*[p] |
| 6 | *Ratnakrodheśvarī* | transliterated | 14 *Ratna kro dhi swa ri ma* | *Surya radna dara mahā kro tī śwa ri*[q] |
| 7 | *Padmaheruka* | transliterated | 5 *Padma he ru ka* | *Padma mahā śrī he ru ka*[r] |
| 8 | *Padmakrodheśvarī* | transliterated | 15 *Padma kro dhi swa ri ma* | *Hri śa ta sa ma ta padma mahā kro tī śwa ri*[s] |
| 9 | *Karmaheruka* | transliterated | 6 *Karma he ru ka* | *Kar ma mahā śrī he ru ka*[t] |
| 10 | *Karmakrodheśvarī* | transliterated | 16 *Karma kro dhi swa ri ma* | *Sarba a mo ka mahā kro tī śwa ri*[u] |
| | | | 7 *Rakṣa he ru ka* | |
| | | | 17 *Rakṣa kro dhi swa ri ma* | |
| | | | 8 *Sa nu he ru ka* | |
| | | | 18 *Sa nu kro dhi swa ri ma* | |
| | | | 9 *Gu hya he ru ka* | |
| | | | 19 *Gu hya kro dhi swa ri ma* | |
| | | | 10 *Yakṣa he ru ka* | |
| | | | 20 *Yakṣa kro dhi swa ri ma* | |

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* | *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| C | | *Kau'u ri/ Ke'u ri ma mo brgyad* | | |
| 11 | *Gaurī* | transliterated | 1 transliterated | 1 *Ke'u ri ma/ dKar mo* |
| 12 | *Caurī* | transliterated | 2 transliterated | 2 *Tso'u ri/ rKun mo* |
| 13 | *Pramohā* | transliterated | 3 transliterated | 3 *Pra mo ha/ rMoṅs mo* |
| 14 | *Vetālī* | transliterated | 4 transliterated | 4 *Pe ta li/ ?Thal byed ma*" |
| 15 | *Pukkasī* | transliterated | 5 transliterated | 5 *Pu ka si/ ?sPos mo*" |
| 16 | *Ghasmarī* | transliterated | 6 transliterated | 6 *Kas ma ri/ gTum mo* |
| 17 | *Caṇḍālī* | transliterated | 8 transliterated | 8 *Tsan dha li/ ?Ma tshogs ma* |
| 18 | *Śmaśānī* | transliterated | 7 transliterated | 7 *Sma śa ni/ Sme śa can* |
| D | | *yul gyi Phra men brgyad*<br>* = transliterated *Skt.* name | | |
| 19 | *Siṅhamukhī* | * *smug nag seṅ mgo can* | * *Seṅ ge'i dbu can* | 1 *Siṅ ṅa mu ka/ Seṅ gdoṅ* |
| 20 | *Vyāghramukhī* | * *dmar mo stag mgo can* | * *sTag gi dbu can* | 2 *Ba kri mu kha/ sTag gdoṅ* |
| 21 | *Sṛgalāmukhī* | * *nag mo wa mgo can* | * *Wa yi dbu can* | 3 *Śri la mu kha/ Wa gdoṅ* |
| 22 | *Śvamukhī* | * *mthiṅ nag spyaṅ mgo can* | * *sPyaṅ mo'i dbu can* | 4 *Śo na mu ka/ Khyi gdoṅ* |
| 23 | *Gṛdhramukhī* | * *dkar ser bya rgod mgo can* | * *Bya rgod dbu can* | 5 *Kri ta mu ka/ bŚad gdoṅ* |
| 24 | *Kaṅkamukhī* | * *dmar nag bya'i mgo can* | * *Dur bya'i dbu can* | 6 *Kaṃ ka mu kha/ Kaṅ ka gdoṅ* |
| 25 | *Kākamukhī* | * *nag mo bya rog mgo can* | * *Bya rog dbu can* | 7 *Kha kha mu ka/ Dur bya gdoṅ* |
| 26 | *Ulūkamukhī* | * *mthiṅ nag 'ug pa'i mgo can* | * *'Ug pa'i dbu can* | 8 *Hu lu ka mu ka/ 'Ug gdoṅ* |

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* | *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| E | | *sGo ma bźi* or *sGo skyoṅ khro mo bźi* | | | |
| 27 | | *rTa gdoṅ dkar mo* | *rTa yi dbu can (sṅon mo)* | ?1 *Badzra arya te tsa te ṅa*/ ?*rDo rje sriṅ 'gro ma* | |
| 28 | | *Phag gdoṅ ma ser mo* | *Phag gi dbu can (nag mo)* | ?2 *Badzra a̱ mu ka*/ ?*rDo rje gdoṅ mo*[x] | |
| 29 | | *Seṅ gdoṅ ma dmar mo* | *Seṅ ge'i dbu can (dmar mo)* | ?3 *Badzra lo ka*/ *rDo rje 'jig rten ma* | |
| 30 | | *sBrul gdoṅ ma ljaṅ* | *sPyaṅ mo'i dbu can (ljaṅ khu)* | ?4 *Badzra pa smi pa la ya ba to*/ ?*rDo rje ro laṅs ma*[y] | |
| F | | *dBaṅ phyug ma ñi śu rtsa brgyad* | | *Maṇḍala* **1** | *Maṇḍala* **2 = comm.2** |
| 31 | *Rākṣasī* | *Srin mo smug nag g-yag mgo* | 1 *g-Yag mgo can* | 1.1 *Srin mo chen mo srin mo* | 2.1 *Srin mo chen mo*<br>2.2 *Mi yi srin mo* |
| 32 | *Brāhmaṇī* | *Tshaṅs pa dmar ser sbrul mgo* | 2 *sBrul mgo can* | 1.2 *Tshaṅs ma* | 2.10 *Tshaṅs ma* |
| 33 | *Mahādevī* | *Lha chen ljaṅ nag gzig mgo* | 3 *gZig mgo can* | ? | ? |
| 34 | *Vaiṣṇavī* | *gTogs 'dod sṅon mo sre moṅ mgo* | 4 *Sre mo'i mgo can* | ? | ? |
| 35 | *Kumārī* | *gŹon nu dmar mo dred mgo* | 6 *Dred mgo can* | 1.6 *gŹon nu mo* | 2.14 *gŹon nu mo* |
| 36 | *Indrāṇī* | *brGya byin dkar mo dom mgo* | 7 *Dom mgo can* | ? | ? |
| 37 | *Vajrī* | *rDo rje ser mo pha waṅ*[z] *mgo* | 5 *Pha waṅ mgo can* | ? | ? |
| 38 | *Śāntī* | *Źi ba dmar mo chu srin mgo* | 8 *Chu srin mgo can* | 1.9 *Źi ba mo* | 2.16 *Źi ba mo* |
| 39 | *Amṛtā* | *bDud rtsi dmar mo sdig pa'i mgo* | 9 *sDig mgo can* | 1.8 *bDud rtsi mo* | 2.15 *bDud rtsi mo* |
| 40 | *Candra* | *Zla ba dkar mo khra'i mgo* | 10 *Khra mgo can* | ? | ? |
| 41 | *Daṇḍā* | *Be con ljaṅ nag wa'i mgo* | 11 *Wa mgo can* | 1.10 *Be chon mo* | ? |
| 42 | *Rākṣasī* | *Srin mo ser nag stag gi mgo* | 12 *sTag mgo can* | ? | ? |

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* | *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po Maṇḍala* 1 | *Maṇḍala* 2 = comm.2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 43 | *Bhakṣinī* | *Za ba ljaṅ nag bya rgod mgo* | 13 *rGod mgo can* | 1.12 *Za ba mo* | 2.17 *Za ba mo* |
| 44 | *Rati* | *dGa' ba dmar mo rta'i mgo* | 14 *rTa mgo can* | 1.13 *dGa' ba mo* | ?2.4 *rGa ba mo?* |
| 45 | *Mahābalī* | *sTobs chen dkar mo khyuṅ gi mgo* | 15 *Khyuṅ mgo can* | 1.4 *dBaṅ mo* | 2.12 *dBaṅ mo* |
| 46 | *Rākṣasī* | *Srin mo dmar mo khyi'i mgo* | 16 *Khyi mgo can* | 1.11 *Srin mo* | 2.18 *Srin mo* |
| 47 | *Abhilāṣī* | *'Dod pa dmar mo pu śud mgo* | 17 *Pu śud mgo can* | ? | ? |
| 48 | *Vasurakṣā* | *Nor sruṅ dmar ljaṅ śa ba'i mgo* | 18 *Śa ba'i mgo can* | ?1.17 *Grub mo* | ?2.22 *Grub mo* |
| | | | | | |
| 49 | *Vāyudevī* | *Rluṅ lha sṅon mo spyaṅ ki'i mgo* | 19 *sPyaṅ mo'i mgo can* | 1.18 *Rluṅ mo* | 2.23 *Rluṅ mo* |
| 50 | *Nārī* | *Mi mo dmar mo skyin gyi mgo* | 20 *sKyin gyi mgo can* | ?1.20 *Me mo* | ?2.24 *Me mo* |
| 51 | *Vārāhī* | *Phag mo nag mo phag gi mgo* | 21 *Phag mgo can* | 1.21 *Phag mo* | 2.25 *Phag mo* |
| 52 | *Vajrī* | *rDo rje dmar mo khwa twa'i mgo* | 22 *Khwa ta'i mgo can* | 1.7 *dMar mo* | ?2.3 *dMar mo* |
| 53 | *Mahānāsā* | *sNa chen ljaṅ nag glaṅ chen mgo* | 23 *Ban glaṅ mgo can* | 1.23 *sNa chad mo* | 2.27 *sNa chad mo* |
| 54 | *Varuṇī* | *Chu lha sṅon mo sbrul gyi mgo* | 24 *sBrul mgo can* | 1.24 *Chu lha mo* | 2.28 *Chu lha mo* |
| | | | | | |
| 55 | *Mahākālī* | *rDo rje dkar mo khu byug mgo ma* | 25 *Khu byug mgo can* | 1.25 *Nag mo chen mo* | 2.6 *Nag mo chen mo* |
| 56 | *Cakalā?* | *rDo rje ser mo ra mgo ma* | 26 *Ra mgo can* | 1.26 *Ra mgo dmar ser chen mo* | 2.7 *dMar ser mo* |
| 57 | *Kumbhakarṇā* | *rDo rje dmar mo seṅ mgo ma* | 27 *Seṅ mgo can* | 1.27 *Bum s̱na sṅo nag chen mo* | 2.8 *sṄo nag chen mo* |
| 58 | *Lambodarī* | *rDo rje ljaṅ nag sbrul mgo ma* | 28 *sKye ka'i mgo can* | 1.28 *gSus 'dẕiṅ ser nag chen mo* | 2.9 *Ser nag chen mo* |
| | | | | ?1.3 *'Khrug mo* | 2.11 *'Khrug mo* |
| | | | | ?1.5 *'Jug sred mo* | 2.13 *'Jug sred mo* |
| | | | | ?1.14 *Ra ro khrag 'thuṅ myos* | 2.19 *Khrag 'thuṅ gis myos mo* |
| | | | | ?1.15 *gCig bu spyod ma* | 2.20 *gCig pur spyod ma* |
| | | | | ?1.16 *Yid 'phrog ma* | 2.21 *Yid 'phrog ma* |
| | | | | ?1.19 *gSod byed mo* | 2.5 *gSod byed mo* |
| | | | | ?1.22 *rGan byed mo* | 2.26 *rGan byed mo* |

*'Ja' tshon źi khro* only (*Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*):

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *Na rag* | *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| G | Five *Jñānaḍākinī-s* | *Ye śes mkha' 'gro lṅa* | | |
| 59 | *Buddhaḍākinī* | *rGyal yum rdo rje rnal 'byor chen mo* | absent | absent |
| 60 | *Vajraḍākinī* | *rDo rje mkha' 'gro sṅon mo* | absent | absent |
| 61 | *Ratnaḍākinī* | *Rin chen mkha' 'gro ser mo* | absent | absent |
| 62 | *Padmaḍākinī* | *Padma mkha' 'gro dmar mo* | absent | absent |
| 63 | *Karmaḍākinī* | *Las kyi mkha' 'gro ljaṅ mo* | absent | absent |

*'Ja' tshon źi khro* only (*Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*):

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| H | *Vajrakīla/kumāraheruka* and consort | *rDo rje phur ba/ gŹon nu he ru ka* | | |
| 64 | *Vajrakīla/kumāraheruka* | *bCom ldan rdo rje gźon nu* | absent | absent |
| 65 | consort | consort | absent | absent |

**Conspectus of the male and female *Bodhisattva-s***

| | *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* | *(Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po)* | | *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* | | | *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *Sa yi sñiṅ po* | *mig gi rnam śes* | 1 | *Sa yi sñiṅ po* | *mig gi rnam śes* | 1 | *rDo rje mthoṅ ba* | *spyan gyi rnam śes* |
| 3 | *(Vajra)lāsyā* | | 9 | *rDo rje sgeg mo* | | 5 | *rDo rje sgeg mo* | |
| 2 | *Byams pa* | *rna ba'i rnam śes* | 6 | *Byams pa* | *rna ba'i dbaṅ po* | 10 | *rDo rje thos byed* | *sñan gyi dbaṅ po* |
| 4 | *(Vajra)puṣpā* | | 14 | *rDo rje me tog ma* | | 14 | *rDo rje me tog (ma)* | |
| 5 | *Kun tu bzaṅ po* | *sna ba'i rnam śes* | 7 | *Kun tu bzaṅ po* | *sna ba'i dbaṅ po* | 2 | *rDo rje thos pa* | *sñan gyi rnam śes* |
| 7 | *(Vajra)mālā* | | 10 | *rDo rje 'phreṅ ba ma* | | 6 | *rDo rje phreṅ ba ma* | |
| 6 | *Nam mkha'i sñiṅ po* | *lce'i rnam śes* | 2 | *Nam mkha'i sñiṅ po* | *rna ba'i rnam śes* | 9 | *rDo rje mthoṅ byed* | *spyan gyi dbaṅ po* |
| 8 | *(Vajra)dhūpā* | | 13 | *rDo rje bdug spos ma* | | 13 | *rDo rje bdug pa (ma)* | |
| 9 | *sPyan ras gzigs* | *lus kyi rnam śes* | 3 | *sPyan ras gzigs* | *sna ba'i rnam śes* | 3 | *rDo rje myoṅ ba* | *śaṅs kyi dbaṅ po* |
| 11 | *(Vajra)gītā* | | 11 | *rDo rje sgra dbyaṅs ma* | | 7 | *rDo rje glu ba ma* | |
| 10 | *'Jam dpal dbyaṅs* | *yid kyi rnam śes* | 8 | *'Jam dpal dbyaṅs* | *lce'i dbaṅ po* | 11 | *rDo rje myoṅ byed* | *śaṅs kyi rnam śes* |
| 12 | *(Vajra)ālokā* | | 15 | *rDo rje mar me ma* | | 15 | *rDo rje mar me (ma)* | |
| 13 | *sGrib pa rnam sel* | *kun gźi rnam śes* | 5 | *sGrib pa rnam par sel ba* | *mig gi dbaṅ po* | 12 | *rDo rje snom byed* | *ljags kyi dbaṅ po* |
| 15 | *(Vajra)gandhā* | | 16 | *rDo rje dri chab ma* | | 16 | *rDo rje dri chab (ma)* | |
| 14 | *Phyag na rdo rje* | *ñon ñid rnam śes* | 4 | *Phyag na rdo rje* | *lce'i rnam śes* | 4 | *rDo rje snom pa* | *ljags kyi rnam śes* |
| 16 | *(Vajra)nṛtyā* | | 12 | *Gar bsgyur ma* | | 8 | *rDo rje gar ba ma* | |

[a] Here called *Yum chen mo kun tu bzaṅ mo*(!) and *Yum chen mo nam mkha'i dbyiṅs phyug ma* (the other consorts are also referred to as *Yum chen mo* + *rDo rje*, *Rin chen*, *Padma*, and *Las kyi dbyiṅs phyug ma*)

[b] This group of deities is named twice, in transliteration and in Tibetan translation.

[c] =*Sa'i sñiṅ po* (comm.1and 2)

[d] =*Byams pa* (comm.1and 2)

[e] =*Kun tu bzaṅ po* (comm.1and 2)

[f] =*Nam kha'i sñiṅ po* (comm.1)

[g] =*sPyan ras gzigs* (comm.1)

[h] (='*Jam dpal dbyaṅs*)

[i] (=*sGrib pa rnam sel*)

[j] =*Phyag na rdo rje* (comm.1)

[k] I would have expected *ṣa* here.

[l] Only in the *mantra* cum *dhāraṇī* section, in comm.2: *Badzra he ru ka*!

[m] In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

[n] Only in the *mantra* cum *dhāraṇī* section, in comm.2 *Buddha he ru ka*!

[o] In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

[p] Comm.2 *Ratna he ru ka*.

[q] In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

[r] Comm. *Padma he ru ka*.

[s] In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

[t] Comm.2 *Karma he ru ka*.

[u] In comm.2 the consort is not specified.

[v] Cf. *sgo ma* 4, *Ro laṅs ma*.

[w] Comm.2: *rBos rmo*?.

[x] Comm.2: *gDuṅ mo*?

[y] =*Vetālī*, cf. *Kau'u rī ma* 4, *Pe ta li*

[z] The Kalsang Lhundup (1969)-edition mistakenly reads (another) *phag mgo*, all the other texts consulted (see appendix I) read *pha waṅ*.

[aa] Fully: *sGrib pa rnam par sel ba*.

There is a wealth of more, interesting material available in the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*-cycle and I am aware that there is a lot more of the text and context from which the deities are extracted which deserves to be examined more closely, but time and space are too limited to allow me to discuss any more of it here. We shall briefly return to this cycle of *tantra-s* in the following chapters, when presenting some of the traditional "interpretations" of *źi khro*.

Now I should like to turn to an important and, considering the number of texts extant, rather popular class of literature, which was already briefly presented in the introduction to this thesis. This is a class of confession- and expiation-texts, many of which in their purification ritual make use of a *maṇḍala* of peaceful and wrathful deities. The texts belonging to this group usually feature the mark "*na rag doṅ sprug(s)*"[212] in their titles.

The most important text (to our concern at least) was already utilised in the above tables, i.e. the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus*[213]. In the introduction we saw that the text presents itself as a translation from a *Saṃskṛt* original that was allegedly composed by the legendary saint *Padmasambhava* and the equally legendary *Kaśmīrian* scholar *Vimalamitra* (eighth century?), the text thus claims to date back to about the eighth century AD. It is interesting to note here, that the translators associated with this text, to wit, *sÑags Jñānakumāra* (eighth century AD) and *Rin chen mchog* (7??-836) from *rMa*, are also connected with the translation of the root-*tantra* of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*. An abbreviated version of (most probably) the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* exists under the pithy title *Na rag doṅ sprugs* (XLI.372)[214], this text is said to be "unearthed" by a *'Gyur med bstan 'phel*.

For quite obvious reasons these texts concerned with confession- and expiation-rituals are closely connected with funerary rites. In fact, one of these *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-texts, featuring a summary of a *źi khro-maṇḍala*, the *Ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug*[215], attributed to the grand old (noble)man of *rDzogs chen*, *Ñaṅ ral ñi ma 'od zer* (1124-1192)[216], was in its original (composite and

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[212] *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)* also refers to an emanation of *Avalokiteśvara* and is thus considered to be a deity itself, analogous to the deity *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*. For a list of some *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-text, see Appendix I.

[213] More bibliographical information can be found in Appendix I, a collational work-edition based on the three block-prints mentioned in the introduction is presented in Appendix II.

[214] Available from the library of the Kern Institute, Leiden, in the Johan van Manen Collection, under registration numbers: Br.79/H242.

[215] See Appendix I.

[216] At least according to block-print XL.1823, which was printed from the 1969 blocks that are preserved in the *He mi rgod tsaṅ*-hermitage. According to the title-description provided with the IASWR-microfiche-edition of this block-print the text was "rediscovered" by *Ñaṅ ral ñi ma 'od zer*, likewise in the title-description of another block-print printed in 1968 in Kelang from the blocks preserved at *Bho gar*-monastery.

According to Dowman (1994, p.55) the text was composed in the nineteenth century by the *'Jam mgon Koṅ sprul, Blo gros mtha' yas* (1813-1899) on the basis of two texts by the *gter ston Gu ru chos kyi dbaṅ phyug* (1212-1280), who is said to have been a disciple of *Ñaṅ ral's* son (and main disciple) *'Gro mgon nam mkha' dpal ba* (see Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), p.763). These two texts are according to Dowman, the *bKa' brgyad gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs*, and the *'Khor ba doṅ sprugs*, which last includes the *bKa' brgyad drag po raṅ byuṅ ba'i źi khro na rag skoṅ bśags kyi cho ga* (see Dowman (1994), p.55, n.62).

Most of the texts bearing the title *Ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug* have been extended after their colophon for a few folio-pages, some of them have an extra and longer addition to this (this last category is marked as "extended" in Appendix I). The part preceding the colophons is identical in all versions. In the colophon some interesting information is recorded. All

usually slightly enlarged) *gter ma*-version as well as in an "extended version" included in many of the younger compilations of the *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-type.

The *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* employs a *źi khro-maṇḍala* of one hundred and ten deities, which is very similar to the one described in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. *Vajra(sattva-)Akṣobhya* (here translated as *rDo rje Mi bskyod pa*) is (again) stationed in the eastern quarter, displaying the *Buddha-(buddha)*family in the centre of the *maṇḍala* (the usual arrangement for *Yoga-tantra-s*), the *Vajra Heruka*, however, is mentioned before the *Buddha Heruka*, implying that it is associated with the centre of the *maṇḍala*, revealing an incongruity between the arrangements of the peaceful and wrathful *maṇḍala-s*. An incongruity moreover that also appears in some of the texts that refer the *Vajra-(buddha)*family to the centre of the *maṇḍala* (for instance in some of the *mantra-s* and *dhāraṇī-s* pertaining to the peaceful *maṇḍala* mentioned in the fourth chapter of the root-*tantra* of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*). There is a more prominent difference, though, for the five *Rig 'dzin* (*Skt. Vidyādhara-s*) and their consorts are conspicuously absent in the *maṇḍala*. This notwithstanding the fact that *Rig 'dzin* are frequently referred to throughout the text, two of the five *Rig 'dzin* that are mentioned

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versions (mentioned in Appendix I) except the *Rin chen gter mdzod*-version (XXIX.5.171-184) have recorded in their colophons that the text is composed on the basis of what is taught in two texts, these are specified as follows: *na rag bśags bskaṅ źi khro gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs daṅ raṅ śar (gñis las bstan pa)*. This probably does not refer to two texts called *Na rag bśags bskaṅ źi khro gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs* and *Raṅ śar*, but this is most probably a cryptic reference to the teaching and the cycles the teaching is taken from, so we should probably read this as: the *na rag bśags bskaṅ-źi khro* as taught in the *(bKa' brgyad) gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs* and in the *(bKa' brgyad drag po raṅ byuṅ) raṅ śar*-cycles. We are further assured that the editing is done truthfully by someone carrying the name of *Padma(sambhava)*, in such a manner that not even a single word had been added or corrupted.

The *Rin chen gter mdzod*-version has a deviating colophon, here (XXIX.5.171-184, p.184, ll.2f.) it is said that the *gter ma bKa' brgyad gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs* by *Gu ru Chos kyi dbaṅ phyug* and the *Źi khro na rag skoṅ bśags*-ritual that came from *gter ma bKa' brgyad drag po raṅ byuṅ raṅ śar* by *Myaṅ* (= *Ñaṅ*) have been joined together here. Dowman probably consulted this last version. The title he mentions for the second work, the *bKa' brgyad drag po raṅ byuṅ ba'i źi khro na rag skoṅ bźags kyi cho ga* is probably erroneous due to either a misreading of his text or possibly a different recension. For the *Rin chen gter mdzod*-version actually reads: ***bka' brgyad drag po raṅ byuṅ raṅ śar** las byuṅ ba'i **źi khro na rag skoṅ bśags kyi cho ga***. I presume that Dowman because of the omission read this phrase as one title.

As to the first colophon mentioned above, the titles appearing there probably refer to two cycles from the *bKa' brgyad*, to wit the *bKa' brgyad gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs*-cycle (see XXIX.22.369 - 23.5), revelations attributed to the *gter ston Chos kyi dbaṅ phyug* and the *bKa' brgyad drag po raṅ byuṅ raṅ śar*, revealed by the *gter ston rGod kyi ldem 'phru can* (1337-1408) (see XXIX.23.7-207). Possibly *raṅ śar* refers to the *Rig pa raṅ śar chen po'i rgyud*, which is extant in the *rÑiṅ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*, Vol.I, pp.389-855 of the reproduction of the *A 'dzom 'brug pa*-blocks (three-volume edition), unfortunately the first volume of this edition is currently not available to me. And as to the editor "*Padma*", *Padmasambhava* is said to have had three important emanations, *mchog sprul sku rnam gsum*, the *gter ston Ñaṅ ral ñi ma 'od zer* was considered to be the first, the *gter ston Gu ru Chos kyi dbaṅ phyug* the second and the *gter ston rGod kyi ldem phru can* the third emanation; see Dowman (1994), p.53 esp. n.57 and Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), pp.755-770 and pp.780-783). It is rather peculiar, though, that the *Raṅ śar* is attributed to *Myaṅ* or *Ñaṅ ral* here and not to *rGod kyi ldem phru can*. For, considering the cycles mentioned in the colophon mentioned first, *Ñaṅ ral ñi ma 'od zer* would be the only emanation of *Padmasambhava* not involved in this text, and regarding the dates *rGod kyi ldem phru can* could be the only *Padma'i miṅ can* to be able to make use of his own *gter ma*. One wonders why *Ñaṅ ral ñi ma 'od zer* had to be brought in. A possible clue lies in the fact that a very similar (but not identical) *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-text exists, the *Źi khro na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus 'gyod tshaṅs kyi cho ga dri med bśags rgyud* (Kern 28.542.40 and XL.1827), which according to its colophon was a *gter ma* of the "emanation-body" *Ñaṅ (ral ñi ma 'od zer)*, it is originally said to have been a teaching given by *sLob dpon Padma* to *Jo mo mTsho rgyal*. So the connection of the name of *Ñaṅ ral ñi ma 'od zer* with the discovery of an *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-text was already an established fact with this text.

in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs-maṇḍala* are even referred to by name[217]. The expanded *maṇḍala* of one-hundred and ten deities is not achieved here by including the *Rig 'dzin* and their consorts in the *maṇḍala*, but by expanding the *krodha-maṇḍala* with ten more deities to a total of sixty-eight *krodhadevatā*. That is to say, by including the primal *Heruka* and his consort (that are usually not counted) while adding an extra four *Heruka-s* together with their *Krodheśvarī*-consorts[218].

The names of the Gatekeepers and the twenty-eight powerful *Yoginī-s* of the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* agree much better with those of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs-maṇḍala* than those mentioned in (the two *maṇḍala-s* of) the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*. That is to say, only one of the names of the Gatekeepers and two of the names of the *Yoginī-s* do not match and, unlike the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*, the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* lists the *Yoginī-s* in the same order as the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

In the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, however, two *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-texts are included that, while preserving the extended *maṇḍala* of *Heruka-s*[219], do feature *maṇḍala-s* of Gatekeepers and *Yoginī-s* that are very similar to those in the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*[220]. These texts are, the *rDo rje sems dpa' thugs kyi sgrub pa las gsuṅs pa'i źi khro na rak doṅ sprugs thabs* (XXIX.5.119-151)[221], and the *Źi khro na rak doṅ sprug gi dbaṅ chog bdud rtsi'i gaṅ gā* (XXIX.5.189-213)[222]. The Gatekeepers in XXIX.5.119-151 are also referred to by Tibetan names, but these do not match with those in the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* and are more similar to the ones found in the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. However, not all the *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-texts extant in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* follow this pattern, the *Źi khro na rak doṅ sprug gi skoṅ bśags thugs rje'i zla 'od* (XXIX.5.153-187)[223], for instance, has the same *maṇḍala-s* of Gatekeepers and *Yoginī-s* found in the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul*[224], in almost exactly the same order, while the extended *maṇḍala* of *Heruka-s* is also present.

Another point of agreement with the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* in the three texts mentioned above (that is including XXIX.5.153-187) is that the *Vajra*-family in all of these texts is relegated to the centre of the *maṇḍala*; that is -- again like in the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* -- except for a single stray *mantra* or *dhāraṇī* in the peaceful *maṇḍala* (see XXIX.5.189-213, p.206, ll.4-6).

A very interesting witness is the *maṇḍala* described in a text called *Źi khro ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i chog sgrig(/b)s khrom(s) dkrugs gsal ba'i rgyan źes bya ba klags chog(s) mar bkod pa* (XLI.651[225], =XLI.13t[226], XLII.27[227])[228]. Here we do not find an

[217] See for instance XLI.336b, 653, folio 4v, #1.2: <*gruh pa'i*> *Sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin* and XLI.336b, 653, folio 10v, #1.1: *Phyag rgya chen pö'i rig 'dzin*.

[218] See the third table above.

[219] Another point of agreement with the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* is that in both texts the *Vajra*-family is, -- again like in the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* -- except for a single "stray" *mantra* or *dhāraṇī* (i.e. in XXIX.5.189-213, p.206, ll.4-6), relegated to the centre of the *maṇḍala*. The same holds true for XXIX.5.153-187, which, however, follows the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* rather than the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* in these *maṇḍala-s*.

[220] This *maṇḍala* also appears in the *bKa' brgyad bde gśegs 'dus pa*, a *bKa' brgyad*-cycle, which is said to be revealed by *Ñaṅ ral ñi ma 'od zer*; see a brief overview in XXIX.21.239-241.

[221] Not dated, the last name in the list of the dignitaries respectfully remembered in the colophon is a great *gter ston* of recent ages *mChog gyur gliṅ pa* (1829-1870), which would place the text in the nineteenth -century.

[222] The text is said to have been compiled by *mChog gyur gliṅ pa* having combined both root-*tantra* and the *dBaṅ gi 'phrin las*.

[223] The text is said to have been written by *mChog gyur gliṅ pa* as an *upadeśa* to the *Ñan 'gro'i tsha gduṅ sel byed* which came from the *Kun bzan rdo rje sems dpa' yi thugs rje rol pa'i chu gter* and was said to be brought to light by *Gu ru Padma 'byuṅ gnas*.

[224] The deviations that do occur in the names are merely a matter of spelling.

[225] Reading: *sgrigs khrom*.

[226] Reading: *sgrigs khroms* (in the Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1953) catalogue only).

extended *maṇḍala* of *Heruka-s* (nor a *maṇḍala* of *Rig 'dzin*), thus the total number of deities here amounts to one-hundred. The Gatekeepers and *Yoginī-s* in the wrathful *maṇḍala* follow the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po-maṇḍala(-s)* (note that the colours of the Gatekeepers are the same as in the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* and the *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-text XXIX.5.153-187). The *Źi khro ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba* moreover shows a variant peaceful *maṇḍala*. Though the *Vajra-(buddha)*family is apparently, considering for instance the order of the *Heruka-s*, here too positioned in the centre of the *maṇḍala*, *Mi bskyod pa* together with his consort *rDo rje dbyiṅs phyug ma* are introduced in a separate *maṇḍala* with *Kun tu bzaṅ po* and *Kun tu bzaṅ mo* preceding the four other *Tathāgata-s*, and are associated with the eastern quarter of this separate *maṇḍala* (*Kun tu bzaṅ po* is associated with the western quarter).

As far as the content is concerned we are no doubt dealing with a genuine *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-text[229], but the title clearly suggests another set of *tantric* purification rituals, the *Ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba* (*Skt. Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*)[230].

This is a rather large cycle of purgatory texts focusing on the deities *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*, *Uṣṇīṣavijaya* and *Sitātapatra*. Rites for the dead are explicitly described in the root-*tantra*. The *maṇḍala-s* treated in the *Ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba* are quite different from those described for the *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-texts and there is moreover, even though the material is to a certain extent related in content, little similarity in phrasing and in presentation. Nevertheless this eycle might still have provided a matrix for the species of confession- and expiation-literature, and combined with a *źi khro-maṇḍala* of the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* it might come close to something like a blueprint for a *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-text. It might be interesting to note here that two of the five *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*-block-print-editions consulted[231] are concluded by a short *Ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba*-text; in the course of time they apparently were associated not only with death and dying (which, regarding their content is a quite obvious connection) but also with a *źi khro-maṇḍala* in this context.

According to the colophon the first Tibetan translation was made at the end of the eighth century by the Indian scholar *Śāntigarbha* and the Tibetan translator *Bande Jayarakṣita*, this translation was revised by *Ācārya Rin chen mchog* from *rMa* before the second half of the ninth century (the date of his death). Together with several commentaries this cycle was included in the canon[232]. A second translation by *Chos rje dpal* from *Chog* (1197-1264) and *Devendradeva* never was subject of any commentary[233].

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[227] Reading: *sgribs khrom* and *chogs*.

[228] The text is said to be composed by *Raṅ byuṅ rdo rje* (1284-1339) on the basis of a "good" (read: unsuspected) *bKa' ma-Tantra* from the early translation period, the *Źi khro khrom dkrugs*, whieh was famed among such realised scholars like *Vi ma la* and *gSaṅ źabs*.

[229] This is mentioned explicitly in the colophon (XLI.651, 13t, folio 40r, ll.5f.).

[230] See Appendix I.

[231] I.e. Kalsang Lhundup (1969) and Kern 28.452.4.

[232] See Appendix I.

[233] For (this and) more information the reader is referred to a study by Skorupsky (1983, Introduction, pp.xiii-xxix).

In order to illustrate the remarkably close match between the *maṇḍala-s* of Gatekeepers and powerful *Yoginī-s* in the "XXIX.5.119-151"- and "XXIX.-5.189-213"-*Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-texts and the *Źi khro ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba* on the one hand and in the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* on the other, in the table below the deities described in these texts are juxtaposed.

| *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* | **XXIX.5.119-151** | **XXIX.5.189-213** | **XLI.651, 13t** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | * = transliterated + | * = transliterated + | * = transliterated + |
| 1 *Badzra arya te tsa te ṅa/ ?rDo rje sriṅ 'gro ma* | *[a] *rTa gdoṅ dkar mo* | *[b] *rTa gdoṅ (ma)* | *[c] *rTa gdoṅ ma sṅon mo* |
| 2 *Badzra a mu ka/ ?rDo rje gdoṅ mo* | *[d] *Phag gdoṅ ser mo* | *[e] *Phag gdoṅ (ma)* | *[f] *Phag gdoṅ ma nag mo* |
| 3 *Badzra lo ka/ rDo rje 'jig rten ma* | *[g] *sPrel gdoṅ dmar mo* | *[h] *sPrel gdoṅ ma* | *[i] *gSeṅ gdoṅ ma dmar mo* |
| 4 *Badzra pa smi pa la ya ba to/ ?rDo rje ro laṅs ma* | *[j] *sPyaṅ gdoṅ ljaṅ mo* | *[k] *sPyaṅ gdoṅ ma* | *[l] *sPyaṅ gdoṅ ma ljaṅ gu* |

| ***gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*** *Maṇḍala* 1 | *Maṇḍala* 2 = comm.2 | **XXIX.5.119-151** | **XXIX.5.189-213** | **XLI.651, 13t** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | * = transliterated + | * = transliterated + |
| | | ***Źi ba'i las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug*** | ***Źi ba'i las ...*** | |
| 1.1 *Srin mo chen mo srin mo* | 2.1 *Srin mo chen mo* / 2.2 *Mi yi srin mo* | *Ma nu rakṣa sī/ Srin mo smug nag g-yag gdoṅ* | *Srin mo* | *Srin mo dmar ser g-yag gdoṅ* |
| 1.2 *Tshaṅs ma* | 2.10 *Tshaṅs ma* | *Pra hma ṇī/ Tshaṅs pa dmar ser sbrul gdoṅ* | *Tshaṅs pa* | * *Tshaṅs pa dmar skya sbrul gdoṅ* |
| 1.3 *'Khrug mo* | 2.11 *'Khrug mo* | *Rau trī/ 'Khrugs mo dmar ser gzig gdoṅ* | *'Khrug mo* | *[m] *'Khrug mo ser nag gzig gdoṅ* |
| 1.4 *dBaṅ mo* | 2.12 *dBaṅ mo* | *Bai ṣṇa bī/ Khyab 'jug dmar ser pha dbaṅ* | 5 *Khyab 'jug ma* | 5 *[n] *Khyab 'jug ma ser mo pha waṅ mgo can* |
| ?1.5 *'Jug sred mo* | ?2.13 *'Jug sred mo* | 6 *Indra ṇī/ brGya byin dkar dmar sre gdoṅ* | 4 *brGya byin* | 4 *[o] *brGya byin ma ... sre moṅ mgo tsan* |
| 1.6 *gŹon nu mo* | 2.14 *gŹon nu mo* | 5 *Ku mā rī/ dBaṅ mo dmar skya dred gdoṅ* | 6 *dBaṅ mo* | 6 *[p] *dBaṅ mo dmar skya dred gdoṅ* |
| | | ***rGyas pa'i las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug*** | ***rGyas pa'i las ...*** | |
| 1.7 *dMar mo* | 2.3 *dMar mo* | *Badzra siṅha laṃ/ Źi ba dmar mo dom mgo* | * *Źi ba* | * *Źi ba dmar mo dom mgo can* |
| 1.8 *bDud rtsi mo* | 2.15 *bDud rtsi mo* | *Amri to/ bDud rtsi chu srin sṅon mo* | *[q] *bDud rtsi* | * *bDud rtsi ma sṅon mo chu srin mgo can* |
| 1.9 *Źi ba mo* | 2.16 *Źi ba mo* | *Sauma/ Źi ba ṅo skya sdig gdoṅ* | * *Źi ba mo* | *[r] *Źi ba ma ṅo skya sdig pa'i mgo can* |
| 1.10 *Be chon mo* | | *Daṇḍa daṃ/ Be con nag mo khra mgo* | * *Be con* | *[s] *Be con ma nag mo khra mgo can* |
| 1.11 *Srin mo* | 2.18 *Srin mo* | *Rakṣa sī/ Srin mo dmar nag wa gdoṅ* | * *Srin mo* | * *Srin mo dmar nag wa gdoṅ* |
| 1.12 *Za ba mo* | 2.17 *Za ba mo* | *Bhakṣa sī/ Za byed nag mo stag mgo* | * *Za byed* | * *Za byed nag mo stag mgo* |

| *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* *Maṇḍala* 1 | *Maṇḍala* 2 = comm.2 | **XXIX.5.119-151** | **XXIX.5.189-213** | **XLI.651, 13t** * * = as XXIX.5.119-151 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *dBaṅ gi las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug* | *dBaṅ gi las ...* | |
| 1.13 *dGa' ba mo* | ?2.4 *rGa ba mo* | *Rāti badzra/ dGa' byed dmar mo rgod gdoṅ* | * *dGa' byed* | *[t] * |
| 1.14 *Ra ro khrag 'thuṅ myos* | 2.19 *Khrag 'thuṅ gis myos mo* | *Ru dhi ra martā/ Khrag 'thuṅ dmar mo rta gdoṅ* | *[u] *Khrag 'thuṅ* | *[v] *[w] |
| 1.15 *gCig bu spyod ma* | 2.20 *gCig pur spyod ma* | *Eka tsa ri nī/ rDo rje ser mo khyuṅ gdoṅ* | * *gCig spyod* | *[x] *[y] |
| 1.16 *Yid 'phrog ma* | 2.21 *Yid 'phrog ma* | *Ma no ha raṃ/ 'Dod pa dmar mo khyi gdoṅ* | * *'Dod pa* | *[z] *[aa] |
| 1.17 *Grub mo* | 2.22 *Grub mo* | *Siddhi kaṃ/ Nor sruṅ dkar dmar pu śud* | * *Nor sruṅ* | *[bb] *[cc] |
| 1.18 *Rluṅ mo* | 2.23 *Rluṅ mo* | *Pā ya bī/ Rluṅ mo dmar skya śa mgo* | * *Rluṅ lha* | *[dd] *[ee] |
| | | *Drag po'i las mdzad dbaṅ phyug drug* | *Drag po'i las ...* | |
| 1.19 *gSod byed mo* | 2.5 *gSod byed mo* | *Ma hā mā ra badzra/ gSod byed ljaṅ nag spyaṅ mo* | *[ff] *gSod byed* | *[gg] *[hh] |
| 1.20 *Me mo* | 2.24 *Me mo* | *Agna ye/ Me mo ljaṅ dmar skyin gdoṅ* | *[ii] *Me mo* | *[jj] *[kk] |
| 1.21 *Phag mo* | 2.25 *Phag mo* | *Bā rā hī/ Ma mo ljaṅ ser phag gdoṅ* | * *Phag mo* | *[ll] *[mm] |
| 1.22 *rGan byed mo* | 2.26 *rGan byed mo* | *Tsa muṇḍī/ rGan byed ljaṅ ṅon khra mgo* | * *rGan byed* | *[nn] *[oo] |
| 1.23 *sNa chad mo* | 2.27 *sNa chad mo* | *Suta nāṃ/ sNa chen ljaṅ dmar glaṅ mgo* | *[pp] *sNa chen* | *[qq] *[rr] |
| 1.24 *Chu lha mo* | 2.28 *Chu lha mo* | *Bā ru ṇī/ Chu lha ljaṅ dmar sbrul gdoṅ* | *[ss] *Chu lha* | *[tt] *[uu] |
| | | | *sgo sruṅ bźi* | |
| 1.25 *Nag mo chen mo* | 2.6 *Nag mo chen mo* | *Badzra mahā kā lī/ Khu byug nag mo* | *[vv] *dBaṅ phyug nag mo* | *[ww] *[xx] |
| 1.26 *Ra mgo dmar ser chen mo* | 2.7 *dMar ser mo* | *Badzra tsa ka lā/ Ra gdoṅ gser mo* | * *rDo rje ma* | *[yy] *[zz] |
| 1.27 *Bum sna sṅo nag chen mo* | 2.8 *sṄo nag chen mo* | *Badzra kumbha karṇā/ Seṅ gdoṅ dmar mo* | *[aaa] *Bum sna ma* | *[bbb] *[ccc] |
| 1.28 *gSus 'dzin ser nag chen mo* | 2.9 *Ser nag chen mo* | *Badzra lambo dha rā/ sKya ga ljaṅ nag* | *[ddd] *gSus 'dzin ma* | *[eee] *[fff] |

[a] *Badzra ārya te dza te ṅa.*
[b] *Ārya te dza teṅ.*
[c] *Badzra ārya te dza te*, N.B. colour as in *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* and XXIX.5.153-187.
[d] *Badzra a mu khe.*
[e] *Badzra a mu khe.*
[f] *Badzra a mu khe*, N.B. colour as in *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* and XXIX.5.153-187.
[g] *Badzra lo ga.*
[h] *Badzra lo ka.*
[i] *Badzra lo ka*, N.B. colour as in *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* and XXIX.5.153-187.
[j] *Badzra bha smiṃ pā la ya ba tu.*
[k] *Bhasmiṃ bā la ya ba tu.*
[l] *Bhasmi bā la ya ba tu*, N.B. colour as in *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul* and XXIX.5.153-187.
[m] *Rau tri.*
[n] *Be ṣṇa bai.*
[o] *Jn dra ṇi*, transliteration listed in the sixth place.
[p] *Ku ma rī*, transliteration listed in the fourth place.
[q] *Amri taṃ.*
[r] *Sau mya.*
[s] *Daṇḍa dam.*
[t] *Ra ti badzra.*
[u] *Ru dhi ra mattā.*
[v] *Ru dhi ra matta.*
[w] *Khrag 'thuṅ ma dmar nag rto gdoṅ.*
[x] *Eka tsa ri ni.*
[y] *gCig spyod ma dkar dmar khyuṅ gdoṅ.*
[z] *Ma no ha ra ma.*
[aa] *'Dod pa dmar ser khyi gdoṅ.*
[bb] *Siddhi ka ma.*
[cc] *Nor sruṅ dkar dmar pu śud mgo.*
[dd] *Wa ya wa.*
[ee] *Rluṅ mo dmar skya śa ba'i mgo.*
[ff] *Ma hā mā ra ṇi.*
[gg] *Mahā ma ra ṇa badzra.*
[hh] *gSod byed ma ljaṅ nag spyaṅ gdoṅ.*

[ii] *Agme yai.*
[jj] *Agni.*
[kk] *Me mo dmar ser skyin gdoṅ.*
[ll] *Wa ra hi.*
[mm] *Phag mo ljaṅ ser phag gdoṅ.*
[nn] *Tsa muṇḍi.*
[oo] *rGan byed ljaṅ ṅon khra ta'i mgo can.*
[pp] *Su ta nāṃ.*
[qq] *Su ta ni.*
[rr] *sNa chen ljaṅ dmar ba glaṅ mgo can.*
[ss] *Ba ru ṇī.*
[tt] *Wa ru ṇi.*
[uu] *Chu lha ma ljaṅ dmar sbrul gdoṅ.*
[vv] *Badzra ma hā kā li.*
[ww] *Badzra mahā kā li.*
[xx] *Nag mo chen mo khu byug mgo can.*
[yy] *Badzra tsa kā la.*
[zz] *rDo rje sṅon mo ra gdoṅ.*
[aaa] *Badzra kumbha ka rṇā.*
[bbb] *Badzra kumbha karṇa.*
[ccc] *Bum rna ma dmar mo seṅ gdoṅ.*
[ddd] *Badzra la mbodha rā.*
[eee] *Badzra lambho dha rā*
[fff] *bSus 'dzin ma ljaṅ nag skya ka'i mgo can.*

The divergences in the *maṇḍala-s* described so far mainly centre on three variations of the *źi khro-maṇḍala*:

either the *Buddha* or the *Vajra Heruka* and(/or) *Tathāgata* (i.e. *rNam par snaṅ mdzad* or *rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa*) are attributed to the centre;
the *maṇḍala* of one-hundred deities may be enlarged to one-hundred and ten by an extension of the *maṇḍala* of *Heruka-s* or, alternatively, by the inclusion of a *maṇḍala* of *Rig 'dzin* (and consorts);
two overlapping but clearly distinguishable sets of twenty-eight powerful *Yoginī-s* are involved.

Obviously both the set of *Rig 'dzin* and the extended set of *Heruka-s* represent later developments in the *źi khro-maṇḍala-s*. I am moreover inclined to assume that *maṇḍala-s* using a *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*-derived set of powerful *Yoginī-s* are older than those, possibly, depending on the (allegedly) eighth-century *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul-maṇḍala*. But the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul*-set of powerful *Yoginī-s* might well be derived from another more ancient *maṇḍala* that I do not yet know of; as I stated at the beginning of this paragraph, it is not feasible to examine all possibly relevant *maṇḍala-s* of earlier phases in *Buddhist* or Hindu *tantra* here.
If these assumptions are correct, we might then continue this line of speculation and presume that, starting from the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po-maṇḍala(-s)* (before the eighth century AD) of one-hundred deities, in certain *tantric* traditions a *maṇḍala* developed in which the set of *Heruka-s* was extended by ten deities (consorts included), a *maṇḍala* which continued to exist in the *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-texts (XXIX.5.119-151 and XXIX.5.189-213) and without the *Heruka-s* in the *Źi khro ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba* mentioned above. In a very early stage (eighth century) a variant developed from (or possibly parallel to) this *maṇḍala,* which featured the same extended set of *Heruka*-deities and consorts, but which had incorporated a different set of powerful *Yoginī-s*, this is the *maṇḍala* we find in the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul*. And it is probably from this extended and altered *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul-maṇḍala* that the later *Kar gliṅ źi khro-maṇḍala* developed by moving the centre of the *maṇḍala* to the *Buddha-*(*buddha*)family and exchanging the extra *Heruka*-deities and consorts for ten neutral deities, the five *Rig 'dzin* (plus consorts), thus winning an extra *maṇḍala*, allowing a tripartite classification of the *źi khro*, whilst remaining at an extended *maṇḍala* of one-hundred and ten deities; as testified in for instance the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (before the fourteenth century) and the *Chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol*. And, most probably, the *'ja' tshon źi khro-maṇḍala* developed again from the *kar gliṅ źi khro-maṇḍala*, as testified in the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po* in *'Ja' tshon sñiṅ po's* original *gter ma*-versions (seventeenth century) and *Ṅag dbaṅ kun dga' bstan 'dzin's* reworking (eighteenth century). The *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po* adds an extra five *Ye śes mkha' 'gro ma* and moreover the *gŹon nu He ru ka* (plus consort) to the *krodha-maṇḍala*. These two additional sets of deities are -- like the 42 peaceful, the 58 wrathful, and 10 *Rig 'dzin*-deities -- attributed to a *cakra* of their own, thus stepping up to a five-fold partition (of *cakra-s* employed in the *yoga*-practices involved with this rite, see chapter 2) and bringing the sum-total of deities to one-hundred and seventeen.

The material discussed so far does not contradict these hypothetical relationships but I have to admit that I do not find the evidence very compelling either. More information is required before any definite conclusions can be drawn.

In this paragraph I shall not discuss the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* beyond what is mentioned above (especially in the tables), this text will be discussed further in the following (paragraph and ehapters). The same holds true for the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*, which will be examined further in the seeond ehapter of this thesis for its explicit and rather elaborate "interpretations" of the deities and *maṇḍala-s* discussed.

## 1.3 Conflation of the Concepts *Bar do* and *Źi khro*

In the previous two paragraphs developments in the concepts (*antarābhava* cum) *bar do* and *źi khro* were discussed.
We are confronted with a jumble of *bar do*-traditions that sometimes show signs of historical relation yet sometimes do not, at any rate, they do not seem to fit into a linear scheme of transmission in any satisfactory way. A *chos ñid bar do* appears relatively late, but the exact chronology of the earliest *Buddhist* testimonies for this new *bar do* remains rather obscure.
We moreover examined several *źi khro-maṇḍala-s*, starting some time before the eighth century with the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*, continuing through a class of more or less related confession- and expiation-texts (the texts examined developed at various points in the interval between the eighth and the fourteenth century), and reaching the focal point of this research somewhere before the fourteenth century -- the upper limit for the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* -- with the first *Buddhist* text in which a fully described *maṇḍala* of *źi khro* appears in a *bar do* of its own. We completed the survey with a short reference to a late witness, the *'Ja' tshon źi khro*, especially the eighteenth-century *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*. It is possible to suggest some lines of development in the *maṇḍala-s* discussed, but these suggestions must for the time being remain highly hypothetical and therefore uncertain.
In this, the last paragraph of this chapter, we shall take a closer look at the exact point in which the concepts of *bar do* and *źi khro* were combined, and some hypotheses concerning the doctrinal significance and consequences of this conflation will be tried. Moreover I should like to adduce some of the relevant material concerning a *źi khro bar do* extant in those traditions that were later styled as "*Bon*" and see if that will create a broader and hopefully clearer perspective on the earliest developments of a *chos ñid bar do* or *źi khro bar do*.

First of all, I should like to place the association of the concepts *bar do* and *źi khro* in a slightly larger context. In the first paragraph of this section we discussed some exponents of the *bKa' rgyud pa-siddha*-traditions. We mentioned that their teachings concerning *bar do* are closely connected to certain forms of *rtsa rluṅ-yoga*, especially the practices focusing on *sgyu lus* and *'od gsal*, which developed in these lines of transmission, *yoga*-practices moreover, that gained much popularity in wider circles than *bKa' rgyud pa*-lineages alone. The concept of *źi khro*, on the other hand, is indissolubly associated with the generation stage of external visualisation (*bskyed rim*, *Skt. utpattikrama*), as may be sufficiently clear from the material presented in the previous paragraph.
So the conflux of these two concepts implies the combination of two influential practices, external visualisation and *rtsa rluṅ-yoga*. This gives us another clue as to the origin of the *chos ñid bar do* or *źi khro bar do*. For, in the eighth *yāna* (the fifth *tantric yāna*)[234], the *Anuyogayāna*, the generation stage, *bskyed rim*, is not combined with the regular perfection stage (*rdzogs rim*, *Skt. sampannakrama* or occasionally *niṣpannakrama*) in which the visualised image is dissolved into emptiness, in *Anuyoga rdzogs*, *rim* involves practice of *rtsa rluṅ-yoga*[235]. *gNubs gsaṅ rgyas ye śes* (832-943[236]) played a role in the introduction of *Anuyogatantra-s* in Tibet[237], that is to

[234] According to *rÑiṅ ma* classification, see Ehrhard (1990) pp.15f..
[235] For more information on *Anuyoga*, and its texts see Dudjom Rinpoche ((1991), pp.284-289) and for the specific treatment by *Kloṅ chen pa* see Tulku Thondup (1989), pp.38-41, see also pp.31f..
[236] Snellgrove (1987): 772-885?, he is said to have lived up to a 113 years, Kapstein (1991): 832-943, Ehrhard (1990): 832-945.

say, in the time of *gNubs*, the ninth/ tenth century, it was still a largely unknown and rare doctrine. It is not unlikely that the inclusion of a full-fledged *źi khro-maṇḍala* in a context dominated by doctrines regarding experiences of *'od gsal* (and light in general) and *sgyu lus* took place in a time that the connection of *bskyed rim* and *rtsa rluṅ-yoga* as extant in *Anuyoga* had become more familiar.
We should moreover not loose sight of the wider historical perspective, *rDzogs chen*-teachings in general -- which, as we can gather from the end of the first paragraph of this chapter, seem to provide the earliest *Buddhist* (and as we shall soon see "*Bon*"-)sources on a *chos ñid (/źi khro) bar do* -- start to emerge between the late eighth and the twelfth century, whilst it is only after the tenth/ eleventh century that *rDzogs chen* starts to establish itself as a tradition[238] (which, by the way, holds true for most schools in Tibetan *Buddhism*).

When referring to some of the objections raised against the existence of an *antarābhava* in the *antarābhavakathā* of the *Kathāvatthu*, in the first paragraph of this chapter, we met with the "*skandha*-problem" (first referred to there in the context of a passage in the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*) an issue which, as was noted in that same paragraph, was apparently already considered problematic at the time of the *Kathāvatthu*. Solving the problem of a (relative) continuity of perception[239] and hence the continuity of at least one *skandha* (i.e. perception *Skt. vijñāna* (Tib. *rnam par śes pa*)) in an intermediate state after the "dissolution" of the *skandha-s* at death (however that was conceived of in various traditions) while at the same time avoiding any suspicion of an assumption of an unchanging and eternal entity or "soul" (for what better advocate for the transience of a person than its disintegration at death) apparently constituted an awkward theoretical dilemma; in fact, as the authors of the *Kathāvatthu* seem to have argued, the very assumption of an intermediate state helped to create such problems in the first place. On the other hand, the increased expertise regarding "death and dying" as recorded in works by *tantric Buddhist yogin-s*, for instance in the *sgyu lus-*, *'od gsal-* and *bar do-* teachings in the *Nā ro'i chos drug*, might have exposed the weak spot to even more pressure, ultimately dictating the necessity of a more satisfactory theory and more elaborate description for that most problematic period, the supposed transitions taking place immediately after an assumed "dissolution" at death, the result of which could be the descriptions of a *chos ñid (/źi khro) bar do*. The exact relation between theories regarding the re-arising/emerging of the *skandha-s*, an illusory body, and the *źi khro-maṇḍala* will be discussed in the following two chapters. In this chapter we shall concentrate on the overall structure of the theoretical framework and on evidence of the practice of *bskyed rim* and *rtsa rluṅ-yoga* in the earliest texts featuring a *chos ñid (/źi khro) bar do*. Before starting this investigation we first need to examine some early "*Bon*"-material on the subject.

A probably quite old witness is the "*Bon*"-*rDzogs chen*-text *rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud las sGron ma drug gi gdams pa* with its commentary, the *rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud las sGron ma'i 'grel pa ñi 'od rgyan*, which might date back even before the date of the compiler of the *Źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud*, i.e. the eighth-century *Gu rub (snaṅ bźer lod po)*[240], the scheme of three *bar do-s* pertaining to death

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[237] See Ehrhard, p.11, esp. n.38.
[238] See Karmay (1988), pp.10-12 and passim, see also Ehrhard (1990), pp.2-17.
[239] See Vetter (1988), p.44, pp.48ff., and p.54.
[240] The *(rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud las) sGron ma drug gi gdams pa* is, as the title indicates, to be found in the *rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud kyi gsuṅ phod*, Dolanji (H.P.), India, 1980, pp.331-354 (used by Orofino for her edition) and Chandra (1964), pp.269-293, especially the

is already extant here. Though mention is made of a time of death (*'chi ba'i dus*[241]) when describing the stages of "dissolution" that are usually associated with the process of dying, a *'chi kha'i bar do* is -- like in the works attributed to *bKa' rgyud pa-siddha-s* examined in the first paragraph of this chapter -- not explicitly mentioned[242]. As was to be expected for this "*Bon*"-text the following *bar do* is not referred to as *chos ñid bar do* but as *bon ñid bar do*, or in full, *bon ñid 'od gsal (gyi) bar do*[243]. And lastly a *srid pa'i bar do*, here styled *srid pa las kyi bar do*[244], is mentioned.

The passages concerning a *bon ñid bar do*[245] are very revealing. The *bon ñid bar do*-teaehings are said to be explained for the benefit of those who possess medium powers of intellect. For, as the *sGron ma drug* has it, the time of death is a border-line between suffering and joy and because the projecting power with regard to good and bad thought is great, this instruction should be given in accordance with the power of intellect and without error. There are furthermore said to be three ways of liberation that result from cognition, a superior, a middle and a lower one[246] (it might be interesting to note here, that the teachings in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* are said to be intended mainly for those of medium intellect[247]). From the descriptions in this passage we can surmise that the *bon ñid bar do* is thought to commence at the point where the three appearances of sound, light and rays arise, after the outer appearances of fire, water, earth and wind have ceased[248] and awareness is without support and naked, separated from the material body of flesh and blood. Because the mass of *karma*, *kleśa-s*, and delusive thoughts has come to an end, *ālayavijñāna* is said to be without the covering of obscurations. So the *bon ñid bar do* aetually starts at the confrontation with the clear light of death (*'od gsal*, here referred to as *kun gźi*, *Skt. ālayavijñāna*[249]) -- hence the name *bon ñid 'od gsal gyi bar do* -- which in the *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-cycles is considered to be a part of the *'chi kha'i bar do*. The *sGron ma drug*

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sixth chapter. The Dolanji-edition of the Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre according to Orofino (1985, p.152) includes three hitherto unpublished chapters reproduced from a copy in the Samling Monastery in Dolpo, Nepal, the edition by Lokesh Chandra and Tenzin Namdak is a reproduction of block-prints from the Tibetan monastery of *sMan ri*. This text is said to be received by *Gu rub snaṅ bźer lod po* from his teacher, the legendary *Ta pi hri za*, in a vision. *Gu rub snaṅ bźer lod po* is said to have lived in the time of the reign of *Khri sroṅ lde btsan*, i.e. the second half of the eighth century. The *(rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud las) sGron ma'i 'grel pa ñi 'od rgyan*-commentary is also extant in the *rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud kyi gsuṅ phod*, Dolanji (H.P.), India, 1980, pp.355-417 and Chandra (1964), pp.293-355. The *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*, and its commentary *sGron ma'i 'grel pa ñi 'od rgyan* are translated in Orofino (1985), pp.60-66 and pp.67-84, and are edited on pp.127-130 and pp.131-139. The commentary is associated with the name of *Uri (bSod nams rgyal mtshan)* (?-1133). In an appendix Orofino moreover presents another "*Bon*"-text, the *'Chi rtags gsal ba'i sgron ma*, from the cycle *Bla med rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ rtse kloṅ chen gyi khrid* which treats of the signs of death (these are, amongst other things, mentioned in the *sGron ma drug*), this text is of lesser interest to us here. The *'Chi rtags gsal ba'i sgron ma* is to be found in the *Bla med rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ rtse kloṅ chen gyi khrid*-cycle, Vol.I, pp.643-666, Dolanji 1973. Orofino translates this text on pp.85-103 and presents an edition on pp.140-150.

241 See Orofino (1985), p.127, l.33, and eommentary, ibid., p.132, ll.19, 22, 26, 29, and 32

242 Except for the reference to a *'chi ba'i srid pa* in the *mGur 'bum* in Kern 28.536.3, folio 167v, l.3.

243 See Orofino (1985), p.128, ll.27 and 37-39.

244 See Orofino (1985), p.128, ll.37ff.; p.135, l.1.

245 See p.128, ll.5-35 of the edition of the *sGron ma drug* in Orofino (1985), translated ibid. pp.63f., and the eommentary on p.133, l.21 - p.134, l.33, translated on pp.71-74.

246 See Orofino (1985), p.127, ll.35-38.

247 See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, ll.7-11.

248 I.e. the process of dying is completed.

249 Especially the elaborations in the commentary make this very clear, even the simile for the recognition of the *kun gźi* (*'od gsal*) is the same, to wit, that of a son coming to his mother's lap (Orofino (1985), p.134, l.14, ef. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.13, ll.14f. and p.54, ll.10f.).

continues to describe the fate of someone of medium intellect, having been introduced to the essenee of the uneovered *ālayavijñāna* and into *vipaśyanā*, by the foree of their eontemplation, the six forms of "higher knowledge" (*Skt. abhijñā*) and the six reeolleetions (*Skt. anusmṛti*) will arise in him and he will aehieve *buddha*-hood. These six forms of *abhijñā* and *anusmṛti* do not mateh very well with those mentioned for the *chos ñid bar do* in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*[250]. Interestingly enough we find no referenee whatsoever in this early text to *źi khro*, only the three appearances of sound, light and rays are mentioned, a common locution which reappears rather frequently in other texts like for instance the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*[251]. Quite in contrast to the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* (or the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*) the visionary aspect is not claborated here at all. We will return to this point when discussing the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* in greater detail, that is, after the presentation of some more "*Bon*"-material.

Furthermore I was able to consult three large collections of "*Bon*"-*źi khro*-texts, to wit the *Hor bla mu khri yid bźin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi źi khro'i sgrub skor*, the *dBaṅ ldan źu riṅ lugs kyi źi khro'i sgrub skor*, and the *Źi khro sgrub skor*[252]. The most intcresting text found so far is a purportedly eighth-century *bar do thos grol*-text called *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo* extant in the third collcction mentioned. The text is attributed to the legendary *Dran pa'i nam mkha'* (eighth century) and is said to have been transmitted orally, that is to say, as a so-called *sñan brgyud*, to his son *Tshe dbaṅ rig 'dzin* and ultimately to *'Gro mgon dam pa raṅ grol* (1149-?). The text is also extant in the second collcction, but under another title, *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi thos grol las byaṅ bag chags raṅ grol*, which, no wonder, is also associated with the name of *(sMan rgyal) Dam pa raṅ grol*. Even though the ascription to *Dran pa'i nam mkha'* (eighth century AD) in "*Bon*"-tradition is most probably equally doubtful as the attribution of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* to the legendary saint *Padmasambhava* in *rÑiṅ ma* tradition, the first reliable date, the one of *Dam pa raṅ grol* (1149-?), is still one to two centuries earlier than the first reliable date for the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (i.e. the approximate date of the *gter ston Karma gliṅ pa* (fourteenth century AD)).

The *źi khro-maṇḍala* starts, as in the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*, from a white ཨ, from which *gŚen lha 'od dkar* emanates. The first pair of deities in the *maṇḍala* is, again, *Kun tu bzaṅ po* and *Kun tu bzaṅ mo*, the other deities, however, are quite different from the ones we met in the *maṇḍala-s* discussed in the previous paragraph. The number of wrathful deities is also different. The *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol* announce, like the other texts discussed so far, forty-two peaceful deities but in the listing six more are mentioned, moreover eighty-six wrathful deities are announced (instead of the fifty-eight listed in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*) while eighty-nine deities are actually listed (plus one pair that is mentioned twice). Some of the groups of deities show some resemblance in kind and in the way they are associated with diverse categories, e.g. the five *Tathāgata-s* with consorts, the *Bodhisattva-s* with consorts and the *Buddha-s* of the six realms, but most of them do not match very well.

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250 See Orofino (1985), p.120, ll.4-22.
251 E.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.14, l.13 and p.16, l.19 - p.17, l.7.
252 See Appendix I.

## Peaceful Deities (*Źi ba'i Lha tshogs*)

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *sÑan rgyud thos grol* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | *Ādibuddha* and consort | *Daṅ po saṅs rgyas* | |
| 1 | *Ādibuddhasamantabhadra* | *Daṅ po saṅs rgyas kun tu bzaṅ po* | *bDe gśegs rgyal kun tu bzaṅ po* |
| 2 | *Samantabhadrī* | *Kun tu bźaṅ mo* | *Kun tu bzaṅ mo yum* |
| | | | *Khri bźi nam tiṅ bde bar gśegs gsuṅ gi lha* |
| | | | *Thugs rje byams pa yum* |
| B | Five *Tathāgata-s* and consorts | *rGyal ba'i rigs lṅa* *bDe gśegs yum lṅa* | *Bde bar gśegs rigs lṅa* *'Byuṅ ba'i yum chen lṅa* |
| 3 | *Vairocana* | *rNam par snaṅ mdzad* | *Kun snaṅ khyab pa bde bar gśegs thugs kyi lha* |
| 8 | *Ākāśadhātvīśvarī* | *Nam mkha'i dbyiṅs phyug ma* | *Nam mkha'i lha mo yum* |
| 5 | *Vajrasattva-Akṣobhya* | *rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyoḋ pa* | *gSal ba raṅ byuṅ bde bar gśegs sku yi lha* |
| 6 | *Locanā* | *Saṅs rgyas spyan ma* | *Sa yi lha mo yum* |
| 7 | *Ratnasambhava* | *Rin chen 'byuṅ ldan* | *dGe lha gar phyug bde bar gśegs yon tan lha* |
| 8 | *Māmakī* | transliterated | *Rluṅ gi lha mo yum* |
| 9 | *Amitābha* | *sNaṅ ba mtha' yas* | *Bye brag dṅos med bde gśegs gsuṅ gi lha* |
| 10 | *Pāṇḍarā* | *Gos dkar mo* | *Me yi lha mo yum* |
| 11 | *Amoghasiddhi* | *Don yod grub pa* | *dGa' ba don grub bde bar gśegs phrin las lha* |
| 12 | *Samayatārā* | *Dam tshig grol ma* | *Chu yi lha mo yum* |

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *sÑan rgyud thos grol* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **C** | **Eight *Mahābodhisattva-s* and consorts** | ***Byaṅ chub sems dpa' chen po brgyad*** ***Byaṅ chub sems ma brgyad*** | ***Ye gśen sems dpa' brgyad*** ***Ye saṅs lcam brgyad*** |
| 13 | *Kṣitigarbha* | *Sa yi sñiṅ po* | *Ye śes sems dpa' khri bźi nam tiṅ* |
| 14 | *(Vajra)lāsyā* | transliterated (*rDo rje sgeg mo*) | *Thugs rje byams ma yum* |
| 15 | *Maitreya* | *Byams pa* | *Ye gśen sems dpa' thaṅ ma me sgron* |
| 16 | *(Vajra)puṣpā* | translit. (*rDo rje me tog ma*) | *gZugs kyi lha mo yum* |
| 17 | *Samantabhadra* | *Kun tu bzaṅ po* | *Ye gśen sems dpa' kha ste mu ya* |
| 18 | *(Vajra)mālā* | translit. (*rDo rje 'phreṅ ba ma*) | *sGra yi lha mo yum* |
| 19 | *Ākāśagarbha* | *Nam mkha'i sñiṅ po* | *Ye gśen sems dpa' gtsug gśen rgyal ba* |
| 20 | *(Vajra)dhūpā* | translit. (*rDo rje bdug spos ma*) | *Dri yi lha mo yum* |
| 21 | *Avalokiteśvara* | *sPyan ras gzigs* | *Ye gśen sems dpa' snaṅ ba mdog can* |
| 22 | *(Vajra)gītā* | translit. (*rDo rje sgra dbyaṅs ma*) | *Ro yi lha mo yum* |
| 23 | *Mañjuśrī* | *'Jam dpal dbyaṅs* | *Ye gśen sems dpa' ba rab gliṅ bźi* |
| 24 | *(Vajra)ālokā* | translit. (*rDo rje mar me ma*) | *Reg bya'i lha mo yum* |
| 25 | *Nīvaraṇaviṣkambhin* | *sGrib pa rnam par sel ba* | *Ye gśen sems dpa' khri rmaṅ rgyal ba* |
| 26 | *(Vajra)gandhā* | translit. (*rDo rje dri chab ma*) | *Yid kyi lha mo yum* |
| 27 | *Vajrapāṇi* | *Phyag na rdo rje* | *Ye gśen sems dpa' lde bo gsuṅ chen* |
| 28 | *(Vajra)nṛtyā* | translit. (*Gar bsgyur ma*) | *gTer 'dzin lha mo yum* |

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *sÑan rgyud thos grol* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ***Ye gśen me tog ma bźi/ Me tog ma bźi*** |
| | absent | absent | 35 *Lha mo dkar mo padma'i spyan can* |
| | absent | absent | 36 *Lha mo dmar mo 'bar ba'i ljags can* |
| | absent | absent | 37 *Lha mo ser mo thor tshugs can gyi sku* |
| | absent | absent | 38 *Lha mo sṅon mo chu rkaṅ can gyi sku* |
| **D** | **Four Gatekeepers and consorts** | ***sGo ba bźi*** ***sGo ma bźi*** | ***Ye śes sgo bźi?*** ***Dus bźi rgyal mo bźi*** |
| 29 | *Vijaya* | *Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba* | 39 *Ye gśen sems dpa' bdud rtsi rgyal ba* |
| 30 | *Vajrāṅkuśī* | *(rDo rje) lcags skyu ma* | 40 *Yum chen dpyid kyi rgyal mo* = 35? |
| 31 | *Yamāntaka* | *(Khro bo) gśin rje gśed po* | 41 *Ye gśen sems dpa' źi dal kun sñoms* |
| 32 | *Vajrapāśī* | *(rDo rje) źags ma* | 42 *Yum chen dbyar gyi rgyal mo* = 36? |
| 33 | *Hayagrīva* | *(Khro bo) rta mgrin rgyal po* | 43 *Ye gśen sems dpa' gtsug phud rgyal ba* |
| 34 | *Vajraśṛṅkalā* | *(rDo rje) lcags sgrog ma* | 44 *Yum chen lha mo ston gyi rgyal mo* = 37? |
| 35 | *Amṛtakuṇḍalin* | *(Khro bo) bdud rtsi 'khyil ba* | 45 *Ye gśen sems dpa' byams pa gdar gcod* |
| 36 | *Vajraghaṇṭā* | *(rDo rje) dril bu ma* | 46 *Yum chen lha mo dgun gyi rgyal mo* = 38? |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| E | **Six *Buddha-s* of the *bhavacakra*** | ***sPrul pa'i thub pa drug*** | ***'Dul ba gśen rab drug*** |
| 37 | *(Indra/ Śakra)* | *brGya byin* | 29 *Ye gśen gtsug phud* |
| 38 | *(Vemacitra)* | *Thags bzaṅ ris* | 30 *lCe rgyal par ti* |
| 39 | *Śākyamuni* | *Śākya seṅ ge* | 31 *gSaṅ ba 'dus pa* |
| 40 | *(Siṃha)* | *Seṅ ge rab brtan* | 32 *Ti saṅs raṅ źi* |
| 41 | *(Jvālāmukhī)* | *Kha 'bar ma* | 33 *Mu cho ldem drug* |
| 42 | *Dharmarāja* | *Chos kyi rgyal po* | 34 *gSaṅ ba ṅaṅ riṅ* |

## Neutral, neither Peaceful nor Wrathful Deities

| | ***Saṃskṛt* name** | **Tibetan name** | ***sÑan rgyud thos grol*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Five *Vidyādhara-s* and consorts** | ***Rig 'dzin lṅa*** | |
| 1 | | *Padma gar gyi dbaṅ phyug* | absent |
| 2 | | consort | absent |
| 3 | | *Sa la gnas pa'i rig 'dzin* | absent |
| 4 | | consort | absent |
| 5 | | *Tshe la dbaṅ ba'i rig 'dzin* | absent |
| 6 | | consort | absent |
| 7 | | *Phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin* | absent |
| 8 | | consort | absent |
| 9 | | *Lhun gyi grub pa'i rig 'dzin* | absent |
| 10 | | consort | absent |

## Wrathful Deities (*Khro bo'i Lha tshogs*)

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *sÑan rgyud thos grol* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | *Ādiheruka* and consort (usually absent) | (*Daṅ po he ru ka*) | |
| | *Mahāśrīheruka* | *Che mchog he ru ka* | |
| | *Krodheśvarī* | transliterated | |
| | | | *(dBal gsas rṅam pa khro rgyal mkha' 'gyiṅ kha* |
| | | | *rÑam mo bde 'gro yum* |
| | | | *Mi bzad gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa rje* |
| | | | *Srid pa'i rgyal mo yum)* |
| B | **Five *Heruka-s* and *Krodheśvarī*-consorts** | (***He ru ka lṅa***) | ***Ye śes khro bo yab lṅa*** |
| | | | ***Yum chen khro mo lṅa*** |
| 1 | *Buddhaheruka* | transliterated | *Thugs rje'i gtso mchog khro rgyal mkha' 'gyiṅ kha* |
| 2 | *Buddhakrodheśvarī* | transliterated | *mKha' la gdug mo yum* |
| 3 | *Vajraheruka* | transliterated | *'Gyur med g-yuṅ druṅ khro gsal mkha' 'gyiṅ kha* |
| 4 | *Vajrakrodheśvarī* | transliterated | *Ne slas sra brtan yum* |
| 5 | *Ratnaheruka* | transliterated | *Gar chen sod de rṅam gsal mkha' 'gyiṅ kha* |
| 6 | *Ratnakrodheśvarī* | transliterated | *Li mun lan brgyad yum* |
| 7 | *Padmaheruka* | transliterated | *Nam mkha' mthiṅ khyab dbal gsas mkha' 'gyiṅ kha* |
| 8 | *Padmakrodheśvarī* | transliterated | *Tshaṅs (s)taṅ dbal mo yum* |
| 9 | *Karmaheruka* | transliterated | *Kham kham tshig tshig gtum gsas mkha' 'gyiṅ kha* |
| 10 | *Karmakrodheśvarī* | transliterated | *Tiṅ nam rgyal mo yum* |

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *sÑan rgyud thos grol* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **C** | | ***Kau'u rī/ Ke'u ri ma mo brgyad*** | ***Ha la Khro bo brgyad***<br>***Yum chen khro mo brgyad*** |
| 11 | *Gaurī* | transliterated | *gSal byed ha la gcod pa khra slag can* |
| 12 | *Caurī* | transliterated | *Li śag dmar mo yum* |
| 13 | *Pramohā* | transliterated | *Kun grags ha la sgra rgyal 'brug slag can* |
| 14 | *Vetālī* | transliterated | *Kha śag smug mo yum* |
| 15 | *Pukkasī* | transliterated | *Dri tshor ha la bya rgyal khyuṅ slag can* |
| 16 | *Ghasmarī* | transliterated | *lGyum śag sṅon mo yum* |
| 17 | *Caṇḍālī* | transliterated | *Kun grol ha la bdud rtsi char slag can* |
| 18 | *Śmaśānī* | transliterated | *Re śag nag mo yum* |
| **D** | | ***yul gyi Phra men brgyad***<br>* = transliterated *Skt*. name | |
| 19 | *Siṅhamukhī* | * *smug nag seṅ mgo can* | *mṄon sprul ha la g-yuṅ druṅ tshe slag can* |
| 20 | *Vyāghramukhī* | * *dmar mo stag mgo can* | *Tshu śag dkar mo yum* |
| 21 | *Sṛgalāmukhī* | * *nag mo wa mgo can* | *sGra 'gyur ha la 'phrul gyi yig slag can* |
| 22 | *Śvamukhī* | * *mthiṅ nag spyaṅ mgo can* | *rGya śag ser mo yum* |
| 23 | *Gṛdhramukhī* | * *dkar ser bya rgod mgo can* | *rDzu 'phrul ha la g-yo ba rluṅ slag can* |
| 24 | *Kaṅkamukhī* | * *dmar nag bya'i mgo can* | *sKyel śag ljaṅ nag yum* |
| 25 | *Kākamukhī* | * *nag mo bya rog mgo can* | *'Gyur med ha la gsal ba 'od slag can* |
| 26 | *Ulūkamukhī* | * *mthiṅ nag 'ug pa'i mgo can* | *Še śag dkar ljaṅ yum* |

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *sÑan rgyud thos grol* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **E** | | ***sGo ma bźi* or** | ***sGo ba yab yum brgyad: rŃam chen khro bo bźi*** |
| | | ***sGo skyoṅ khro mo bźi*** | ***Dus bźi rgyal mo bźi*[a]** |
| 27 | | *rTa gdoṅ dkar mo* | *dBal gyi rgyal po mi zad me la rgyuṅ* |
| 28 | | *Phag gdoṅ ma ser mo* | *Khro gtum nag mo yum* |
| 29 | | *Seṅ gdoṅ ma dmar mo* | *sTobs chen mi zad stag 'gros rgyal po* |
| 30 | | *sBrul gdoṅ ma ljaṅ* | *Glaṅ ra sṅon mo yum* |
| | | | *sTobs chen mi skyin 'daṅ mi phud rgyal po* |
| | | | *Li bar dmar mo yum* |
| | | | *Khro rṅam ha la stobs kyi rgyal po* |
| | | | *mKha' la 'khyag 'dor yum* |
| | | | *(Mi bzad gnam gyi lha rgod thog pa rje* |
| | | | *Srid pa rgyal mo)* |
| **F** | | ***dBaṅ phyug ma ñi śu rtsa brgyad*** | ***dBal mo ñi śu rtsa bdun*** |
| 31 | *Rākṣasī* | *Srin mo smug nag g-yag mgo* | *Las mkhan sṅon mo 'brug mgos chu srin lag pa g-yob* |
| 32 | *Brāhmaṇī* | *Tshaṅs pa dmar ser sbrul mgo* | *Las mkhan dmar ser 'broṅ mgos ru skyogs 'dzin* |
| 33 | *Mahādevī* | *Lha chen ljaṅ nag gzig mgo* | *Las mkhan bud med dkar mos ba dan 'phyar* |
| 34 | *Vaiṣṇavī* | *gTogs 'dod sṅon mo sre moṅ mgo* | |
| 35 | *Kumārī* | *gŹon nu dmar mo dred mgo* | *Las mkhan ljaṅ nag sbrul mgos khyuṅ gśog 'phyar*[b] |
| 36 | *Indrāṇī* | *brGya byin dkar mo dom mgo* | *Las mkhan dkar mo rgod mgos ru mtshon 'phyar*[c] |
| | | | *Las mkhan sa srin nag mos sbrul źags 'debs* |

| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | *sÑan rgyud thos grol* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 37 | *Vajrī* | *rDo rje ser mo pha waṅ mgo* | *Las mkhan nag mo skyuṅ mgos zaṅs spar gdeṅs*[d] |
| 38 | *Śāntī* | *Źi ba dmar mo chu srin mgo* | *Las mkhan nag mo dom mgos sbrul źags 'debs*[e] |
| 39 | *Amṛtā* | *bDud rtsi dmar mo sdig pa'i mgo* | *Las mkhan nag mo gdoṅ dgus bdud mda' 'phen* |
| 40 | *Candra* | *Zla ba dkar mo khra'i mgo* | |
| 41 | *Daṇḍā* | *Be con ljaṅ nag wa'i mgo* | *Las mkhan dkar mo seṅ mgos mtshal źags bsdog*[f] |
| 42 | *Rākṣasī* | *Srin mo ser nag stag gi mgo* | *Las mkhan ser mo glaṅ mgos sgyogs rdo 'phen* |
| | | | *Las mkhan bud med smug mos gru gu sdog*[g] |
| 43 | *Bhakṣinī* | *Za ba ljaṅ nag bya rgod mgo* | |
| 44 | *Rati* | *dGa' ba dmar mo rta'i mgo* | *Las mkhan dmar mo dred mgos ral kyu 'phyar*[h] |
| 45 | *Mahābalī* | *sTobs chen dkar mo khyuṅ gi mgo* | *Las mkhan sṅon mo gzig mgos btsan źags bsdog*[i] |
| 46 | *Rākṣasī* | *Srin mo dmar mo khyi'i mgo* | *Las mkhan sṅon mo gdoṅ drug chu srin g-yaṅ gźi 'khur* |
| 47 | *Abhilāṣī* | *'Dod pa dmar mo pu śud mgo* | |
| 48 | *Vasurakṣā* | *Nor sruṅ dmar ljaṅ śa ba'i mgo* | *Las mkhan dmar nag spyaṅ mgos khra gśog 'phyar*[j] |
| | | | *Las mkhan ser ljaṅ 'ug mgos srin bya spor* |
| 49 | *Vāyudevī* | *Rluṅ lha sṅon mo spyaṅ ki'i mgo* | *Las mkhan dkar mo gźal gñis śel sgoṅ 'thor* |
| 50 | *Nārī* | *Mi mo dmar mo skyin gyi mgo* | |
| 51 | *Vārāhī* | *Phag mo nag mo phag gi mgo* | *Las mkhan smug nag stag mgos dred kyi g-yaṅ gźi 'khur*[k] |
| 52 | *Vajrī* | *rDo rje dmar mo khwa twa'i mgo* | *Las mkhan dmar mo khra mgos ral gyu 'phyar*[l] |
| 53 | *Mahānāsā* | *sNa chen ljaṅ nag glaṅ chen mgo* | *Las mkhan dmar mo mgo dgus byur thag skyoṅ*[m] |
| 54 | *Varuṇī* | *Chu lha sṅon mo sbrul gyi mgo* | |
| | | | *Las mkhan ser ljaṅ khyuṅ mgos pho mo skuṅ nas 'gyed* |
| 55 | *Mahākālī* | *rDo rje dkar mo khu byug mgo ma* | *Las mkhan skya bkra mgos dred lag 'phyar*[n] |
| 56 | *Cakalā?* | *rDo rje ser mo ra mgo ma* | *Las mkhan sño ljaṅ dbu gñis dmu thag 'dren* |
| 57 | *Kumbhakarṇā* | *rDo rje dmar mo seṅ mgo ma* | |
| 58 | *Lambodarī* | *rDo rje ljaṅ nag sbrul mgo ma* | |

**Saṃskṛt** **Tibetan** *sÑan rgyud thos grol*

*Las mkhan sṅo ljaṅ chu srin mgo can rluṅ g-yab bsnams*
*Las mkhan dmar nag phag mgos dru gu bsdog*[o]
*Las mkhan dmar nag lcags ral gśin lam 'dren*

***dBal gyi las mkhan gyad chen bcu po***

*Las mkhan dbal gyi mi phos*[w] *bos*[x] *cha ha la sgrog*[y]
*Las mkhan duṅ gyi mi thuṅ dbal mduṅ 'debs*
*Las mkhan dbal g-yu yi mi thuṅ mda' gźu 'geṅs*[z]
*Las mkhan gzaṅs kyi mi thuṅ dgra sta 'phyar*[bb]
*Las mkhan lcags kyi mi thuṅ ral gri 'phyar*[ff]
*Las mkhan dbal stag khra bos mche sder brdar*[jj]
*Las mkhan dbal 'brug sṅon pos 'ur sgra sgrog*[mm]
*Las mkhan dbal g-yag dkar pos ru ze*[nn] *bsigs*
*Las mkhan dbal khyuṅ sṅon po 'jum źiṅ ldiṅ*
*Las mkhan khro chu'i*[oo] *mi thuṅ gtar tshan bsnams*

*sÑan rgyud thos grol* continued

***dBal gyi las mkhan dmag dpon bcu po***

*Las mkhan*[p] *glaṅ po'i mgo can*[q] *brag ri 'debs*
*Las mkhan mthiṅ nag dom mgos ral gri 'phyar*[r]
*Las mkhan*[s] *chu srin mgo can*[t] *dbal mduṅ gsor*[u]
*Las mkhan dmar mo spyaṅ mgos khra gśog 'phyar*[v]
*Las mkhan skya bkra gsa' mgos bam ro za*
*Las mkhan ser ljaṅ khyuṅ mgos sbrul źags 'debs*
*Las mkhan mthiṅ nag rṅa mgos*[aa] *mduṅ riṅ bsnams*
*Las mkhan*[cc] *phag rgod mgo can*[dd] *me dpuṅ spor*[ee]
*Las mkhan*[gg] *dred kyi mgo can*[hh] *byad thag bsnams*[ii]
*Las mkhan*[kk] *stag gi mgo can*[ll] *dgra śa za*

***dBal gyi las mkhan rgyal chen sde bźi***

*Las mkhan mi dkar seṅ mgos ral gri 'phyar*[pp]
*Las mkhan*[qq] *phag rgod mgo can*[rr] *sbrul źags 'phen*[ss]
*Las mkhan mi sṅon 'brug mgos sta mo 'phyar*
*Las mkhan mi nag dom mgos thog mda' 'phen*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *'Ja' tshon źi khro* only (*Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*): | | *sÑan rgyud thos grol* |
| | *Saṃskṛt* name | Tibetan name | |
| **G** | **Five *Jñānaḍākinī-s*** | ***Ye śes mkha' 'gro lṅa*** | |
| 59 | *Buddhaḍākinī* | *rGyal yum rdo rje rnal 'byor chen mo* | absent |
| 60 | *Vajraḍākinī* | *rDo rje mkha' 'gro sṅon mo* | absent |
| 61 | *Ratnaḍākinī* | *Rin chen mkha' 'gro ser mo* | absent |
| 62 | *Padmaḍākinī* | *Padma mkha' 'gro dmar mo* | absent |
| 63 | *Karmaḍākinī* | *Las kyi mkha' 'gro ljaṅ mo* | absent |
| | ***'Ja' tshon źi khro* only (*Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*):** | | |
| **H** | ***Vajrakīla(/kumāra)heruka* and consort** | ***rDo rje phur ba/ gŹon nu he ru ka*** | |
| 64 | *Vajrakīla(/kumāra)heruka* | *bCom ldan rdo rje gźon nu* | absent |
| 65 | consort | consort | absent |

[a] The names appear in a phrase almost identical to the one used for the peaceful protectors, in both cases it does not seem to be completely accurate for describing the groups of deities mentioned.
[b] IASWR-microfiche-edition of the *Źi khro bar do'i 'phraṅ grol*, fiche number SB778.II.8: *phyar*.
[c] SB778.II.8: *phyar*.
[d] SB778.II.8: *gdeṅ*.
[e] SB778.II.8: *'phen*.
[f] SB778.II.8: *bsdog*.
[g] SB778.II.8: *bsdog*.
[h] SB778.II.8: *phyar*.
[i] SB778.II.8: *bsdog*.
[j] SB778.II.8: *phyar*.
[k] SB778.II.8: *Las mkhan smug nag stag mgos g-yaṅ bźi phyar*.
[l] SB778.II.8: *lcags kyu phyar*.
[m] SB778.II.8: *skyoṅs*.
[n] SB778.II.8: *phyar*.
[o] SB778.II.8: *bsdogs*.
[p] SB778.II.8: *Las mkhan gser mo ....*
[q] SB778.II.8: *mgos*.
[r] SB778.II.8: *phyar*.
[s] SB778.II.8: *Las mkhan sṅo ljaṅ ....*
[t] SB778.II.8: *chu srin mgo*.
[u] SB778.II.8: *bsor*.
[v] SB778.II.8: *phyar*.
[w] SB778.II.8: *pos*.
[x] SB778.II.8: *bswo*.
[y] SB778.II.8: *sgrogs*.
[z] SB778.II.8: *'geṅ*.
[aa] SB778.II.8: *rṅam mgos*.
[bb] SB778.II.8: *phyar*.
[cc] SB778.II.8: *Las mkhan dmar nag ....*
[dd] SB778.II.8: *mgos*.
[ee] SB778.II.8: *bsnams*.
[ff] SB778.II.8: *phyar*.

[gg] SB778.II.8: *Las mkhan dmar mo ... .*
[hh] SB778.II.8: *mgos.*
[ii] SB778.II.8: *bsdogs.*
[jj] SB778.II.8: *bdar.*
[kk] SB778.II.8: *bkra gsal.*
[ll] SB778.II.8: *mgos.*
[mm] SB778.II.8: *sgrogs.*
[nn] SB778.II.8: *zer.*
[oo] SB778.II.8: *chus.*
[pp] SB778.II.8: *phyar.*
[qq] SB778.II.8: *Las mkhan mi dmar ... .*
[rr] SB778.II.8: *phag mgos.*
[ss] SB778.II.8: *sdebs.*



**A *maṇḍala* of peaceful deities** (Tibet, nineteenth century AD)



**A *maṇḍala* of wrathful deities** (Tibet, nineteenth century AD)

A detailed discussion of the charactcristics of and differences between this and other "*Bon*"-*maṇḍala-s* cannot be presented here. In any case, there are "*Bon*"-*maṇḍala-s* that differ from the one just described, see e.g. the *Źi khro'i phyag bśags ñams chag skoṅ byed na rag paṅ bkoṅ rgyal po (bskaṅ ba)*[253], a text which might moreover be interesting for the development of the *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-class of texts discussed above. Unfortunately time does not allow me to make use of it here.
The above comparison of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*/ *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*- and the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol*/ *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*-*maṇḍala-s* does not yield enough common ground for establishing any sound hypothesis concerning a positive affiliation. The rest of the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol*- and *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*-texts does not suggest any relation either, that is, except for the summarising prayers concluding each group of deities presented there.
The phrasing of these prayers (showing almost identical formulas at each occurrence) is remarkably similar to that of the *Bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam*, a (more or less separate) text[254] which is extant in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* where it likewise concludes the descriptions of pairs or sets of deities. On the following page a typical example of the prayer-formulas in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol*/ *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol* is given.
Apart from some general resemblances in the *maṇḍala-s*, these prayers are the only similarities found so far. Therefore it might be worthwhile to take a closer look at them. Firstly we have to address the question of chronology. Was the *Bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam* incorporated into the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* or is the *Bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam* a later compilation from the verses appearing in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, which, together with similar prayers, for the ease of reference, was ineluded in *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-cycles as an "appendix"? As far as the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is concerned both hypotheses are possible, though the former option seems to be the most probable one, since the *Bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam* contains several verses less than are contained in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (to wit, the verses pertaining to the five *Tathāgata-s* and consorts as a whole[255]), suggesting an adaptation, in this case extension, of the prayer to fit the needs of the arrangement in the *chos ñid bar do*-text. It is interesting to note here that the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol* also show signs of editing of the prayer cited. The descriptions of the guardians of the peaceful *maṇḍala* and wrathful *maṇḍala* are followed by formulas of prayer[256] that are very similar. These formulas, however, do not match very well with either group of deities and are not construed in a consistent and customary manner.

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[253] According to the title-description by Karmay in his Catalogue of Bonpo Pnblications (1977, p.35, nr.47) this text was rediscovered by *dByil ston khyuṅ rgod rtsal* (1175-?) from *La stod ṅar gyi se la*. The presentation of a "*Bon*"-set of deities by Lauf (1975, pp.178-187) mainly follows the *maṇḍala* deseribed in this text.
[254] See Appendix I.
[255] See Kalsang Lhundnp (1969), p.38, ll.5-10, this was brought to my attention by a comment in Thurman (1994, p.109).
[256] See the edition in Appendix II, folios 645f. and 666f. of the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and folios 288f. and 308 of the *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*.

***Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs***

ཀྱེ་མ་

[by *saṃsāric* category(/ies)]་འཁོར་བར་འཁྲུམས་པའི་ཚེ༔

[Enlightened quality(/ies)་གསལ་བའི་འོད་ལམ་ལ༔ [By (group of) deity(/ies)་ལམ་སྣ་རྫོངས༔ [By consort(s)]་རྒྱབ་ནས་སྐྱོར༔ བར་དོ་འཇིགས་པའི་འཕྲང་ལས་བསྒྲལ་དུ་གསོལ༔ ཡང་དག་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ས་རུ་སྐྱོལ༔

***sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol***

pair/ group of deities་འགྲོ་ཀུན་རྫོངས། བར་དོ་འཇིགས་པའི་ཕྲང་ལས་བསྒྲལ་དུ་གསོལ། རིགས་དྲུག་བར་དོའི་གནས་ནས་འདྲེན་དུ་གསོལ། འོག་མིན་བདེ་ཆེན་ཞིང་དུ་བསྐྱལ་དུ་གསོལ། བོན་ཉིད་འོད་གསལ་དབྱིངས་སུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཤོག།

ཨ་ཨོཾ་ཧཱུྃ། བདག་སོགས་འདི་ནས་འཆི་འཕོས་ལུས་བརྗེས་དུས། བོན་ཉིད་འོད་གསལ་སྣང་བ་འཆར་དུས་སུ།

[By *saṃsāric* category(/ies)]་འཁོར་བར་འཁྲུམས་པའི་ཚེ།

[Enlightened quality(/ies)]་གསལ་བའི་འོད་ལམ་ལ། [By (group of) deity(ies)]་ལམ་སྣ་རྫོངས། [By consort(s)]་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་ཅིག། བར་དོ་འཇིགས་འཕྲང་ལས་བསྒྲལ་དུ་གསོལ། བདེ་ཆེན་སངས་རྒྱས་ཞིང་དུ་བསྐྱལ་དུ་གསོལ། ཀུན་ཏུ་དབྱེར་མེད་ས་ལ་བཀོད་དུ་གསོལ།

The construction for the guardians of the peaceful *maṇḍala* is obviously forced, especially the group-name of the male guardians, *Ye śes sgo bźi*, seems doubtful, first of all since it is mentioned as a group-name in the prayer of the *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol* only, and secondly because in all other instances, that is, also in the prayer-formula pertaining to the guardians of the wrathful *maṇḍala* this designation appears in an introductory formula, which in this location usually features more general categories with which the groups of deities are associated.

As indicated above, the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol* moreover disagree in the reading of the prayer. The *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* features an unusual construction that has the supplicant begging one group of female deities to lead the way and another to protect him from behind; usually the male deities are, if available, asked to lead the way and the female deities are supplicated for backup-support. The *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol* exchanged the first group of female deities[257] for a designation referring to the group of four male guardians, *Ye śes sgo bźi*, therewith awkwardly doubling the appearance of this group-name in the prayer-formula. Obviously the *Me tog ma bźi* did not fit into the formula of the prayer in any decent manner and had to be introduced by force, the redactor(s) of the *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*, took offence at this tour de force and polished the inconsistency of two groups of female deities away by ignoring the first group in the formula, but in the process of this cosmetic operation spoiled the introductory formula where the male deities had found mention already; thus inadvertently knocking over with the butt what was being corrected by the hand. The female consorts of the guardians mentioned for the wrathful *maṇḍala* deviate from their group-name mentioned in the prayer, the designation used actually pertains to the female consorts of the guardians in the peaceful *maṇḍala*.

The impression we get from this is that the redactor(s) of the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol* had to work with two groups of gate-keepers cum consorts including the four *Me tog ma bźi*, while at the same time having only one prayer-formula available. This might imply that both the *maṇḍala* and the prayer pre-date the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol*- and the *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*-texts proper; that is to say, they were known sources drawn upon that could not be remodelled too far beyond their traditional mould.

Though the *maṇḍala-s* used are apparently very different, the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol/ Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol* seem to draw on the same or a similar prayer that bears much resemblance to the *Bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam*.

Dargyay[258] has suggested a strong connection of *Bar do thos grol*-teachings with "the vision of *Amitābha*" and "the *Sukhāvatī*-prayer", she characterises the corresponding texts as forming a unity from the point of view of content and religious practice. An important clue for Dargyay is the fact that in the short biography of *Karma gliṅ pa* in the *Zab mo'i gter daṅ gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus bkod pa rin chen bai du rya'i phreṅ* by *'Jam mgon koṅ sprul blo gros mtha' yas* (1813-1899)[259] this *gter ston* is reported as a reincarnation of the translator *Klu'i rgyal mtshan* of *Cog ro* who is said to have been a contemporary of king *Khri sroṅ lde btsan* (742-797) and whose name is moreover connected with the translation

[257] The *Me tog ma bźi*, four of the six deities that spoil the desired number of forty-two peaceful deities and that the redactor(s) for some reason or other dared not omit.

[258] See Dargyay (1977, pp.44-47, esp. pp.46f.), cited in agreement by Pommaret (1989, p.106).

[259] Included in his *Rin chen gter mdzod* Vol.I, pp.291-759.

of (amongst others) the important *Āryāmitābhavyūhanāmamahāyānasūtra*[260]. This *Klu'i rgyal mtshan* of *Cog ro* is said to have been sent to India by king *Khri sroṅ lde btsan* on behest of *Ñaṅ tiṅ ṅe 'dzin bzaṅ po* together with a party led by him and the translator *sKa ba dpal brtsegs* of the *'Bro*-family in order to procure *rDzogs chen*-teaehings by inviting *Vimalamitra* to Tibet[261]. Though she admits to have no further evidence supporting this, she considers the possibility that the party of *Klu'i rgyal mtshan*, *sKa ba dpal brtsegs*, and *Vimalamitra* brought with them practices concerning *Amitābha* but also other practices that were concerned with the "*bar do thos grol*"-concept, which ultimately resulted in the *Bar do thos grol*-cycles. The latter part of her consideration does indeed seem to go far beyond the evidence available and I can, as for now, not share the enthusiasm that Pommaret apparently feels[262] regarding Dargyay's hypotheses. *Amitābha* definitely occupies a special position, see for instance the mention in the inceptive verse of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, but on the whole, the *Bar do thos grol*-texts I am familiar with do not strike me as so strongly centred on *Amitābha* or *Sukhāvatī*, texts on *'pho ba* emphatically excepted, of course. The association of *Karma gliṅ pa* with *Amitābha*- and *Sukhāvatī*-cults, however, because of his traditional association with *Klu'i rgyal mtshan* seems to be well worth considering. If *Karma gliṅ pa* did draw upon sources related with *Amidism* or in one way or other was influeneed by these cults, I would expect the prayers discussed to be the most likely carrier for this influence. It seems to be worthwhile to look into *Amitābha*-centred literature for the origin of the prayers mentioned above.

Having examined some of the available "*Bon*"-sources, I should now like to continue discussing the presumably early *Buddhist* testimonies for a *chos ñid bar do* that were introduced earlier in this chapter, at the end of the first paragraph, especially with regard to evidence of (a combination) of *bskyed rim*- and *Anuyoga-rdzogs rim/ rtsa rluṅ*-practices.
A most interesting reference is to be found in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* itself[263]:

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[260] See PTT, 5.110.3.4-127.3.5.
[261] See Dargyay (1977a), pp.57f..
[262] See Pommaret (1989), p.106.
[263] Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.12, l.11 - p.13, l.1. N.B. *ka*=X.12.2,187.2,19.2; *kha*=XI.10 (=Kern 28.452.4), *ṅa*=XXVI.235, *ca*=XIV.1229=1233, see Appendix I.

ཡང་གདམས་ངག་གདབ་སྙེ༔ དེ་ལ[༣༤༤]་རྫོགས་རིམ་པ་དང་བསྐྱེད་རིམ་པ་གཉིས་སོ༔[༣༤༥] རྫོགས་རིམ་པ་ཡིན་ན[༣༤༦]་མིང་ནས་ལན་གསུམ་འབོད་ལ༔ གོང་གི་འོད་གསལ་ངོ་སྤྲོད་དེ་ཀ[༣༤༧]་བསྐུར་ལ[༣༤༨]་གདབ་བོ༔ བསྐྱེད་རིམ་པ་ཡིན་ན་ཁ་རང[༣༤༩]་གི་ལྷ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེའི་སྒོམ་ཁོག་དང[༣༥༠]་མངོན་རྟོགས་བཀླག་སྙེ༔[༣༥༡] ཀྱེ་རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ༔ ཁྱོད་རང་གི་ཡི་དམ་འདི་སྒོམས་ཤིག༔[༣༥༢] མ་ཡེངས་ཤིག༔[༣༥༣] འདུན་པ་དྲག་པོ་ཡི་དམ་ལ་གཏོད་ཤིག༔ སྣང་ལ་རང་བཞིན་མེད་པ་ཆུ་ནང་གི་ཟླ་བ་ལྟར་སྒོམས་ཤིག༔[༣༥༤] གདོས་བཅས་ཅན[༣༥༥]་དུ་མ་སྒོམས་ཤིག༔[༣༥༦] ཅེས་གསལ་གདབ་བོ༔[༣༥༧] སྐྱེ་བོ་ཐ་མལ་པ་ཡིན་ན༔[༣༥༨] ཇོ་བོ་ ||ཀ་༡༣|| ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་སྒོམས་ཤིག༔[༣༥༩] ཅེས[༣༦༠]་ངོ་སྤྲོད་དོ༔

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[༣༤༤] ཁ་དང་ཅ། དེ་ལ་ཡང་

[༣༤༥] འདི་མར་ངར་ཡང། མངོན་རྟོགས་བཀླག་སྙེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཐྱི་བར་དུ་ང་འདི་མར་གཅིག་པོ་མིན།

[༣༤༦] ཁ་དང་ཅ། ན་ནི་

[༣༤༧] ཀ་ནི། ཁ་དང་ཅར་མེད།

[༣༤༨] ཁ་དང་ཅ། སྐུར་ནས་

[༣༤៩] ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཁོང་རང་

[༣༥༠] ཁ་དང་ཅ། དང་བསྟན་ནས་

[༣༥༡] ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཀློགས་དེ༔ རྫོགས་རིམ་པ་ཡིན་ན་མིང་ནས་ལན་གསུམ་འབོད་ལ༔ གོང་གི་འོད་གསལ་ངོ་སྤྲོད་ དེ་ཀ་བསྐུར་ལ་གདབ་བོ༔ བསྐྱེད་རིམ་པ་ཡིན་ན་ཁ་རང་གི་ལྷ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེའི་སྒོམ་ཁོག་དང་མངོན་རྟོགས་བཀླག་སྙེ༔ ནི། ངས། སྔར་ཡང་རྫོགས་རིམ་པ་ལ་གསལ་འདེབས་སྤྲ་མ་ཉིད་སྐུར་ནས་གདབ། བསྐྱེད་རིམ་པ་ཡིན་ན་ཁ་རང་གི་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྷ་གང་ཡིན་དེའི་མངོན་རྟོགས་ཕབ་ནས་སྒོམ་དུ་འཇུག། འདི་མར་ཚེ་འདས་ཀྱི་མིང་ནས་འབོད་ལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཐྱི་བར་དུ་ངར་མེད།

[༣༥༢] ཁ་དང་ཅ། བསྒོམས་ཤིག༔

[༣༥༣] ཁ། །

[༣༥༤] ཁ་དང་ཅ། བསྒོམས་ཤིག༔

[༣༥༥] ཁ་དང་ཅ། གདོས་པ་ཅན་

[༣༥༦] ཁ་དང་ཅ། བསྒོམས་ཅིག༔

[༣༥༧] ཁ་དང་ཅ། གསལ་གདབ་པོ༔

[༣༥༨] ཁ་དང་ཅ།

[༣༥༩] ཁ་དང་ཅ། བསྒོམས་ཤིག༔

[༣༦༠] ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཞེས་

When the adept regains consciousness (after experiencing the (first) clear light of death) in the *chos ñid bar do*, the teaching given to him depends on whether he practised *bskyed rim* or *rdzogs rim*. This instruction implies that *bskyed rim* and *rdzogs rim* are not intended here as the two phases in external visualisation-practice, to wit, projecting and dissolving the visualisation, but refer to two distinct practices, the first of which is external visualisation-practice, the second of which, according to the text, is associated with an introduction into the experience of the clear light. I should like to refer here to work of Ehrhard (1990)[281], where we can read that the term *bsKyed pa'i tshul* is used in the *Man ṅag lta ba'i phreṅ ba*, which is attributed to *Padmasambhava*, as a designation for *Mahāyoga* and *rDzogs pa'i tshul* as a designation for *Anuyoga*. The reference to *rdzogs rim pa-s* in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is hence most probably a reference to practitioners of *Anuyoga*. That is to say that the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* has knowledge of an *Anuyogayāna* and addresses itself explicitly to these practitioners as a more advanced category, the distinction moreover implies that latter group was considered to be closer to "the centre of the *maṇḍala*".

Concluding the description of the peaceful deities, the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* gives some general information regarding the appearance of the deities[282] (which reads like an instruction for visualisation). It is significant that this description is virtually identical with one extant in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*[283]. There is moreover some similarity in content in the part immediately following this. Not to such a degree as to suggest any borrowing, but enough to indicate that both texts are here in their own way presenting a similar tradition[284], that is to say, draw on the same sources. The rest of the descriptions, however, do not bear much resemblance. The shared locution is moreover the only substantial reference to peaceful deities in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*. Thus, in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, the treatment of the five wisdom lights in the part following this phrase is associated with the five *Tathāgata-s*, but in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* it is presented in terms of geometrical shapes of light and colour only. The references to technical terminology pertaining to stages and teaching-devices/ -similes with regard to esoteric *rDzogs chen/(rtsa rluṅ-)yoga*-practice (a detailed description of which cannot be given here) are more numerous and seem to be more systematically and comprehensively presented in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* than in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

Summarising these facts we get a picture in which neither the "*Bon*"-*bar do thos grol*-texts -- the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol* -- nor the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, nor the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* borrowed from each other on a large scale. The "*Bon*"-*bar do thos grol*-texts and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* share a similar prayer that was probably incorporated from a familiar source. The *Ñi zla kha sbyor* and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* share a description/ visualisation-instruction for the peaceful deities and several references to more advanced kinds of *Buddhist yoga*-practice pertaining to amongst others the *Anuyogayāna*. That is to say, evidence points to shared sources, prayer(s), instructions for visualisation as well as more advanced types of *Buddhist yoga* rather than to direct copying or even whole-sale import.

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281 See Ehrhard (1990), pp.8-17, esp. p.11.
282 Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.34, ll.12-20.
283 Orofino (1985), p.118, ll.17-26.
284 Cf. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.34, ll.20 - p.37, l.4. and Orofino (1985), p.118, l.21 - p.119, l.26.

Now I should like to take a closer look at the general architecture of descriptions of the period immediately following the "dissolution" of the *skandha-s* at death and at the nature of the references to *rtsa rluṅ-yoga* in the *bar do*-literature discussed so far, especially with regard to descriptions of the experience of the clear light of death and the arising of an illusory body "shortly" after.
The description of the *bar do* of dying, the *'chi kha'i bar do*, in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, is largely presented in terms of Tibetan medicine and *tantric Buddhist yoga*, referring to processes of subtle and gross disintegration involving breath (*phyi/ naṅ dbugs*), *nāḍī*, *prāṇa*, the five elements and the like, this is a general tendency in most of the descriptions of a *'chi kha'i bar do* known to me[285]. When the "dissolution" of all the aspects of personal existence is completed and the experience of the clear light of death has been unveiled, a subtle mental body of habitual tendencies ((*bag chags*) *yid kyi lus*) is said to arise. That is to say, due to habitual tendencies a body consisting of those very constituents of the personality (*skandha-s*) -- the "disintegration" of which had been previously described! -- is said to be projected or imagined. This is exactly the sore spot in *bar do*-theory that is referred to above. The arising of a mental body is a general feature in conceptualisations of a state that was thought not to be experienced under normal psycho-physical conditions, like the *chos ñid* and *srid pa'i bar do-s* (e.g. in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*) or the *rmi lam bar do* and certain meditative states as for instance described in the *Nā ro'i chos drug*. Perception in such a state seemed to demand a faculty fit to perceive. It is at this point in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* that the descriptions of the peaceful and wrathful deities start. This construction leads to a most remarkable inconsistency, however, since, as we shall demonstrate in the next chapter, the perception of the five *Tathāgata-s* in the peaceful *maṇḍala* also refers to the arising of these five *skandha-s* that are involved in the perception thereof (and to the possibility of the realisation of the five *buddhajñāna-s* by recognising these constituents as such). The need to have a faculty of perception present before the arising of that faculty of perception can be perceived, was apparently more urgent than the inconsistency resulting from this manoeuvre. What is extremely interesting is that the arising of a mental body, which was apparently considered to belong to the "basic gear" of a *bar do*, is here, unlike in the preceding process of disintegration, indicated by means of a *maṇḍala* of deities and not in terms of *nāḍī*, *prāṇa*, etc..
This composition suggests hard labour on the side of the redactor(s), I have the impression that we are actually looking here at the seams and stitches of the patchwork, loose ends included, that ultimately became the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. After the elaborate and quite sophisticated description (in terms of *rtsa*, *rluṅ*, etc.) of the process of disintegration some additional theory and more elaborate description was needed to make the transition from a bare experience of the clear light of death (strictly speaking, a completely bare "experience" of the clear light of death would amount to release) to a complete mental body acceptable, while at the other hand the reference to the sudden appearance of a mental body as a mandatory requisite for a non-physical *bar do*-state could not be discarded so easily, each (consecutive) *bar do*-state required a death and a birth of its own (a fact that we encountered already in some of the later *abhidharma*-literature discussed in the first paragraph of this chapter). The fact that the redactor(s) resorted to a *źi khro-maṇḍala*

[285] A very clear example of this is to be found in a late and highly systematised presentation, mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter, the *gŹi sku gsum gyi rnam bźag rab gsal sgron me źes bya ba bźugs so* (XL.0696), composed by the eighteenth-century *dGe lugs pa*-scholar *dByaṅs can dga' ba'i blo gros* or *A kya yoṅs 'dzin*.

presents us, certainly given the evidence of the several kinds of *yoga*-practice referred to above, with a clue as to their doctrinal back-ground. Considering the awkwardness of the dilemma and the possibilities that *Buddhist* theory offered at that time to tackle sueh a problem methinks that some commiseration with the plight of the redaetor(s) seems appropriate. Apparently, he/they managed to smoothen out the unevenness by covering up the gap between no-body and some-body with familiar and related theories and descriptions, thus making the whole story appear somewhat more familiar and thus maybe more aeceptable, yet while doing so he/they did not actually offer a more consistent theory.

Another interesting point is the description of the four wisdom-lights appearing together (since the fifth wisdom, the wisdom of all-accomplishing action, associated with the green wisdom-light, is not yet perfected, the green light reportedly does not yet appear). This is the so-called seeret path of *Vajrasattva* (*rdo rje sems dpa'i khoṅ seṅ gi lam źes bya'o*), which as mentioned above, appears in both the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*[286] and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*[287]. The colours of the wisdom-lights attributed to the first two *Tathāgata-s* are reversed[288]. The colours used are those of their bodies, not the colours of the light they appear from. *Vairocana*, whose body of white colour was in the description of the *maṇḍala* in the preeeding part of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* said to appear from blue light, is here associated with the white wisdom-light, while *Vajrasattva*, whose body of blue colour was in the preceding part of the text said to emerge from white light, is here associated with wisdom-light of the colour blue. Texts are extant in which the colours blue and white are also reversed in the descriptions of the five *Tathāgata-s*[289]. The attribution of the colours of the wisdom-lights in the description of the secret path of *Vajrasattva* might well be more original than that of the colours of the *Tathāgata-s* in the peaceful *maṇḍala*, the harmonisation of the colours in the peaceful *maṇḍala* with those of the wisdom-lights is most probably due to later editing. This suggests that the *maṇḍala* was introduced into the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* at a later point and that the sourees the *Ñi zla kha*

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[286] See Orofino (1985), p.119, ll.3-22.

[287] See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.34, l.20 - p.36, l.15

[288] A discrepancy which was, again, brought to my attention by an annotation in Thurman (1990), p.143.

[289] See e.g. XXVI.235 = text *ṅa* (see Appendix I), especially the lengthy note regarding this inconsistent attribution of colours which appears at the end of the description of *Vairocana* and his consort, p.261, l.5 - p.263, l.1:

ཡེ་ཤེས་ཁ་དོག་དཀར་པོ།·····དེང་སང་གི་ཞི་ཁྲོ་དགོངས་པ་རང་གྲོལ་གྱི་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་རྣམས་སུ་འོད་མཐིང་གར་བཤད་འདུག་པ་ཡི་གེ་མ་དག་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། ||ང་༢༦༢|| སྤྱིར་རྡོར་སེམས་སམ་མི་བསྐྱོད་པ་མཐིང་ག་དབུས་དང་། རྣམ་སྣང་དཀར་པོ་ཤར་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་དབང་དུ་བགྱིས་ནས་ཞེ་སྡང་རྣམ་པར་དག་ཅིང་རྣམ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུང་པོ་གནས་འགྱུར་བའི་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་ཡེ་ཤེས་མི་བསྐྱོད་པ་དང་སྦྱར། གཏི་མུག་རྣམ་པར་དག་ཅིང་། གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཕུང་པོ་གནས་འགྱུར་བའི་མེ་ལོང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྣམ་སྣང་དང་སྦྱར་བའི་ལུགས་གཅིག་དང་། རྣམ་སྣང་དཀར་པོ་དབུས། རྡོར་སེམས་སྔོན་པོ་ཤར་དུ་བཀོད་པའི་ལུགས་གཉིས་ལས་འདི་ཕྱི་མའི་དབང་དུ་བགྱིས་པས་འོད་ཀྱང་རང་དོག་དཀར་པོར་བྱེད་དགོས་ལ། འོག་ཏུ་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཞི་སྦྱོར་གྱི་སྣང་བ་འཆར་དུས། རྣམ་སྣང་གི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་འོད་རྣམས་དང་འོད་ཐིག་དཀར་པོ་དང་། རྡོར་སེམས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ནས་མེ་ལོང་ལྟ་བུའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་མཐིང་ལ་གསལ་བའི་སྣམ་བུའི་སྟེང་དུ། དེ་འདྲ་བའི་འོད་ཐིག་འཆར་བར་ཡང་གསུངས་པས་སོ། ||ལུགས་འདི་གཏི་མུག་དང་རྣམ་ ||ང་༢༦༣|| ཤེས་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་རྣམ་སྣང་དང་། ཞེ་སྡང་དང་གཟུགས་ཕུང་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་མི་བསྐྱོད་པར་འཇོག་པའི་ལུགས་སོ།

*sbyor* and the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* drew upon probably only featured the above-mentioned general reference to the visualisation of peaceful deities that both texts share. It is not unlikely that the practice not only to refer to deities, but to actually include a description of a *maṇḍala* like in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and in the "*Bon*"-*bar do thos grol*-texts, the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*, was imported from the popular class of *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-like confession- and expiation-texts and had not been adapted to the colour-scheme of the co-arising of the four wisdom-lights imported from another source, though there is at the moment no solid proof for this hypothesis.

As indicated above this is not the right opportunity to track down, identify and explain the many allusions to esoteric *rDzogs chen*-practices especially in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* and to a lesser degree the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. The *Ñi zla kha sbyor* might draw on the *Rig pa raṅ śar chen po'i rgyud* here, which *tantra* is actually referred to in an interpolation[290], but unfortunately the volume of the *rÑiṅ ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*-edition[291] in which the *Raṅ śar* is included is not available to me at the moment.

There are moreover many more interesting (and sometimes contradictory) points in the "architecture" of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* that deserve to be investigated further. Some work has been done already in the study of Back (1979), for instance with regard to the exact manner of release as related to the *buddhakāya-s* and the interesting double appearance of *Yama Dharmarāja* in the *chos ñid bar do* and the *srid pa bar do*.

Regarding the above evidence it seems likely that the early *chos ñid bar do/ źi khro bar do*-texts discussed are the result of a compilation of information gathered from different sources, part of which is shared by some of them and part of which is unique. The *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* thus comprises:

- a prayer (shared with the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and the *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*) probably to be identified as, or alike to, the *Bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam* (a possible *Amidist* provenance should be investigated);
- a reference to the peaceful *maṇḍala* (shared with the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*) from an as yet unknown *Mahāyoga*-source;
- references to certain *rDzogs chen*-practices (slightly less elaborate and systematic than similar references in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*) from an unknown *rDzogs chen*-source (the *Rig pa raṅ śar* should be investigated as one of the possible candidates);
- and a *źi khro-maṇḍala* imported from a source differing from the one mentioned above (second point), probably a text from the *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-class of confession and expiation-texts.

With these considerations I should like to conclude this historical survey and proceed with the next chapter, an examination of traditional "interpretations" of *źi khro* extant in the texts that were introduced in the second paragraph of this chapter.

[290] See Orofino, (1985), p.120, ll.19f..
[291] Vol.I, pp.389-855, of the three-volume edition made from the *A 'dzom 'brug pa*-blocks.

## 2 Traditional "Interpretations" of *Źi khro-Maṇḍala-s*

In this chapter we shall examine some traditional "interpretations" offered for the *(kar gliṅ) źi khro* as they are extant in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. This will be done by taking stock of the categories associated with the individual deities. But because only a few deities are "well documented" in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, additional information has to be extracted from the *maṇḍala* extant in the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul*, which is, generally speaking, especially for the less familiar deities, more explicit on the point of interpretation. The late *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*, which offers the most bountiful and exhaustive treatment of the subject known to me, will, with the necessary caution of course, be used as further reference-material to fill in the gaps. In spite of its late date, which allows the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po* to know more than the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* did, its descriptions are remarkably consistent (i.e. conservative), at least for the (one-hundred and ten) deities both texts share. A general comparison of the "interpretations" thus gathered to those that can be inferred from the categories associated with the deities listed in the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* and the "*Bon*"-texts, the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*, will also be attempted here. A more in-depth discussion of these diverging *maṇḍala-s*, however, is not feasible within the limits of this study.
Much work in classifying categories associated with *źi khro* has been done already by Lauf (1975). He made use of several texts, which are listed in part VIII of his study, Literaturverzeichnisse[292]; the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po* seems to have been one of his more important sources. Considering the intended public of his publication, references to Tibetan sources were kept limited, yet he seems to have been very precise in extracting material from the various sources indicated. The data presented by him are, as far as I have been able to check, reliable and accurate, so much so, that it does not seem to be necessary to comb all the blueberry-bushes again, just in case Lauf might have missed a pale or undersized berry. The presentation of this material seems to be only instrumental in his study, the main goals being a psychological interpretation of the evidence found, and a comparison with related traditions in different cultures. The potential reader of his study is left to judge for him or herself how well Lauf succeeded in doing so and whether he or she finds his particular approach clarifying or not. For the present investigation I am mainly concerned with the concrete data which Lauf brought together, for that work alone I think I owe him a debt of gratitude. So thanks to the efforts of Lauf, it is not necessary to sum up all the information concerning each and every deity. Therefore I shall first present a conspectus of the several groups of *Buddhist* deities and their collective associations/ "interpretations" that can be found in Lauf (1975). Because the conspectus is arranged for groups of deities, all individual iconographical details of the deities, their colour, garments, attributes, the direction they appear from, etc. had to be omitted. These details can, however, usually be found in Lauf's study. After this, the full data for a few more or less typical and well documented examples of traditional "interpretations" of some of the deities, to wit, the five peaceful emanations of the *Tathāgata-s* and their consorts, will be given. Finally, based on the information gathered thus, some general considerations regarding the function of the *źi khro-maṇḍala* will be offered.

[292] Esp. Lauf (1975), pp.269f..

First of all, a general conspectus of what is present in Lauf (1975):

**42 Peaceful deities, associated with the *jñānacakra* (Tib. *ye śes kyi 'khor lo* or *thugs kyi 'khor lo*)**

| | |
|---|---|
| *Samantabhadra* (Tib. *Kun tu bzaṅ po*) with<br>Consort *Samantabhadrī* (Tib. *Kun tu bzaṅ mo*) | awareness (*rig pa*)<br>*dharmatā* |
| 5 *Tathāgata-s* (Tib. *rGyal ba'i rigs lṅa*) | 5 *skandha-s*<br>5 *buddhajñāna-s*<br>(5 *kleśa-s*)<br>5 *cakra-s* as areas of *karmic* activity (*Skt. karmamaṇḍala* |
| 5 Consorts (Tib. *bDe gśegs yum lṅa*) | 5 elements |
| *8 Mahābodhisattva-s* (Tib. *Byaṅ chub sems dpa' chen po brgyad*)<br>8 Consorts (Tib. *Byaṅ chub sems ma brgyad*) | 8 forms of perception (*Skt. vijñāna*, Tib. *rnam śes brgyad*)<br>8 realms of perception (*Skt. viṣaya*, Tib. *rnam śes yul brgyad*) |
| 6 *Buddha-s* of the *bhavacakra* (Tib. *sprul pa'i thub pa drug*) | 6 *loka-s*<br>6 *kleśa-s*<br>6 perfections (*Skt. pāramitā*, Tib. *pha rol du phyin pa drug*)<br>6 *cakra-s* |
| 4 Gatekeepers (Tib. *sGo ba bźi*) with<br>4 Consorts (Tib. *sGo ma bźi*)<br>(somewhat wrathful) | 4 limitless states (*Skt. catur-apramāṇa*, Tib. *tshad med bźi*)<br>4 theses on eternity and annihilation (Tib. *rtag chad mu bźi*)<br>4 of the *skandha-s* |

**10 Neutral, neither peaceful nor wrathful deities associated with the *sambhogacakra* (Tib. *loṅs spyod kyi 'khor lo*)**

| | |
|---|---|
| 5 *Vidyādhara-s* (Tib. *Rig 'dzin lṅa*) with<br>5 Consorts | 5 *cakra-s* as realms of *karmic* activity (*Skt. karmamaṇḍala*) |

**58 Wrathful deities, associated with the *mahāsukhacakra* (Tib. *bde chen gyi 'khor lo*)**

| | |
|---|---|
| (*Mahāśrīheruka* (Tib. *mChe mchog heruka*) with Consort *Krodhīśvarī* (Tib. transliterated), generally absent) | |
| 5 *Heruka*-manifestations of the *Tathāgata-s* (Tib. *Khrag 'thuṅ yab lṅa*) | 5 *kleśa-s* |
| 5 Consorts (Tib. *dByiṅs phyug yum lṅa*) | 5 elements |
| 8 *Ke'u ri ma-s* | 8 forms of perception (*Skt. vijñāna*, Tib. *rnam śes brgyad*) |
| 8 *'Phra men ma-s* | 8 realms of perception (*Skt. viṣaya*, Tib. *rnam śes yul brgyad*) |
| 4 Female Gatekeepers (Tib. *sGo ma bźi* or *sGo skyoṅ khro mo bźi*) | 4 limitless states (*Skt. catur-apramāṇa*, Tib. *tshad med bźi*)<br>4 theses concerning eternity and annihilation (Tib. *rtag chad mu bźi*)<br>4 leaders of the four groups of six powerful animal-headed female *Yoginī-s* |
| 28 Powerful animal-headed female *Yoginī-s* (Tib. *dBaṅ phyug rnal 'byor ma ñer brgyad*) (including 4 female Gatekeepers) | *karmically* conditioned tendencies and concepts |

**Among some sects the *maṇḍala* is extended with two groups of 5 and 2 deities, associated with the *nirmāṇacakra* (Tib. *lte ba'i/ sprul pa'i 'khor lo*) aud *sukhapāla-cakra* (Tib. *bde skyoṅ gi 'khor lo*) respectively**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Associated with the *nirmāṇacakra*:** | |
| 5 *Jñānaḍākinī-s* (Tib. *Ye śes mkha' 'gro ma bźi*) | |
| **Associated with the *sukhapālacakra*:** | |
| *Vajrakīla* or *Vajrakumāraheruka* with | (sexual) desire (*Skt. kāma*, Tib. *'dod pa*) |
| Consort | (3) *kleśa-s* |

Among these groups of deities we will now more closely examine the five *Tathāgata-s* of the peaceful *maṇḍala* together with their female consorts. In the five tables on the following pages, attributes and diverse other categories are listed that are associated with these deities in successively the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul*, the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*, the *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po* (and one of its commentaries (comm.2[293])), and lastly also in the "*Bon*"-text, the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*.

[293] See paragraph 1.2, most of the information that can be gathered from this commentary is said to be extracted from the *dPal gsaṅ ba'i 'dus pa* (see XX.83.32.3.7).

## *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*

| Five *Tathāgata-s* and consorts | *Buddhakṣetra* (*Žiṅ khams*) | Quarter (*Phyogs*) | Colour light | Colour body | Throne (*Khri/ gDan*) | *Mudrā* (*Phyag rgya*) | *Skandha/ Bhūta* (*Phuṅ po/ 'Byuṅ ba*) | *Saṃsāric* category | Enlightened quality/ colour | Juxtaposed realm/ colour |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *rNam par snaṅ mdzad* | *Thig le'i brdal ba* | centre | blue | white | *seṅ ge'i khri* | *'khor lo rtsibs brgyad* | *rnam par šes/* | *gti mug* | *chos kyi dbyiṅs kyi ye šes/ mthiṅ ga* | *lha/ dkar po* |
| *Nam mkha'i dbyiṅs phyug ma* | ditto | ditto | ditto | - | ditto | | *nam mkha' thams cad*[a] | | | |
| *rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa* | *mÑon par dga' ba* | east | white | blue | *glaṅ po che'i gdan* | *rdo rje rtse lṅa pa* | *gzugs/* | *že sdaṅ* | *me loṅ lta bu'i ye šes/ dkar po* | *dmyal ba/ dud kha* |
| *Saṅs rgyas spyan ma* | ditto | ditto | ditto | - | ditto | | *chu* | | | |
| *Rin chen 'byuṅ ldan* | *dPal daṅ ldan pa* | south | yellow | yellow | *rta mchog gi gdan* | *nor bu rin po che* | *tshor ba/* | *ṅa rgyal* | *mñam pa ñid kyi ye šes/ ser po* | *mi/ sṅon po* |
| *Māmakī* | ditto | ditto | ditto | - | ditto | | *sa* | | | |
| *sNaṅ ba mtha' yas* | *bDe ba can* | west | red | red | *rma bya'i gdan* | *padma* | *'du šes/* | *'dod chags/ ser sna* | *so sor rtogs pa'i ye šes/ dmar po* | *yi dwags/ ser po* |
| *Gos dkar mo* | ditto | ditto | ditto | - | ditto | | *me* | | | |
| *Don yod grub pa* | *Rab brtsegs pa* | north | green | green | *nam mkha' ldiṅ šaṅ šaṅ gi khri* | *rdo rje rgya gram* | *'du byed/* | *phrag dog* | *bya ba grub pa'i ye šes/ ljaṅ khu* | *lha ma yin/ dmar po* |
| *Dam tshig grol ma* | ditto | ditto | ditto | - | ditto | | *rluṅ* | | | |

[a] The attribution of the elements to the consorts is not explicit in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* but is inferred from the other texts used.

## *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul*

| **Five *Tathāgata-s* and consorts**[*] | **Throne (*Khri/ gDan*)** | ***Mudrā* (*Phyag rgya*)** | ***Skandha/ Bhūta* (*Phuṅ po/ 'Byuṅ ba*)** | ***Buddha*-quality** | **Enlightened quality** | **Power resulting from enlightened quality** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *rNam par snaṅ mdzad*<br>*Kun tu bzaṅ mo*(!)<br>*=Nam mkha'i dbyiṅs phyug ma* | *mi jigs pa seṅ ge'i khri*<br>ditto | *'khor lo* | *gzugs*<br>*nam mkha'* | *de bźin gśegs pa'i sku yi bdag ñid*<br>*dus gsum gyi rgyal ba thams cad 'byuṅ ba'i gnas* | *stoṅ pa ñid kyi ye śes* | *kun la dbaṅ bsgyur ba* |
| *rDo rje sems dpa'/Mi bskyod pa*<br>*Saṅs rgyas spyan ma*<br>*=rDo rje dbyiṅs phyug ma* | *glaṅ po che'i gdan*<br>ditto | *rdo rje* | *rnam par śes pa*<br>*sa*(!) | *de bźin gśegs pa'i thugs kyi bdag ñid*<br>*dus gsum gyi rgyal ba thams cad bskyed pa'i gźi* | *me loṅ lta bu'i ye śes* | *skye śi daṅ 'pho 'gyur gyi rtog pa mi mṅa ba* |
| *Rin chen 'byuṅ ldan*<br>*Māmakī*<br>*=Rin chen dbyiṅs phyug ma* | *śugs 'chaṅ rta'i khri*<br>ditto | *rin po che 'bar ba* | *tshor ba*<br>*chu*(!) | *de bźin gśegs pa'i yon tan kyi bdag ñid*<br>*dus gsum gyi rgyal ba rnams kyi yon tan gyi gter 'dzin ma* | *mñam pa ñid kyi ye śes* | *ma g-yos par che ba'i yon tan thams cad 'byuṅ ba* |
| *sNaṅ ba mtha' yas*<br>*Na bza' dkar mo*<br>*=Padma dbyiṅs phyug ma* | *mdzes byed rma bya'i khri*<br>ditto | *padma* | *'du śes*<br>*me* | *de bźin gśegs pa'i gsuṅ kyi bdag ñid*<br>*dus gsum gyi rgyal ba kun gyi gsuṅ mchog ma* | *so sor rtogs pa'i ye śes* | *chos spyi daṅ raṅ gi mtshan ñid gsal la ma chags pa* |
| *Don yad grub pa*<br>*Dam tshig grol ma*<br>*=Las kyi dbyiṅs phyug ma* | *caṅ śes śaṅ śaṅ gte'u'i khri*<br>ditto | *rdo rje rgya gram* | *'du byed*<br>*rluṅ* | *de bźin gśegs pa'i 'phrin las kyi bdag ñid*<br>*'gro ba thams cad phags pa'i sa bcur sgrol ma* | *bya ba grub pa'i ye śes* | *'phrin las mthar phyin pa* |

* All the names of the consorts are preceded by *Yum chen mo*.

## *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*

| Five *Tathāgata-s* and consorts | Quarter (*Phyogs*) | Colour body | Throne (*Khri/ gDan*) | *Mudrā* (*Phyag rgya*) | *Skandha-s/ Bhūta-s* (*Phuṅ po/ 'Byuṅ ba*) | *Saṃsāric* category | Enlightened quality | Colour wisdom-light |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *rNam par snaṅ mdzad*<br>*Yum mchog dbyiṅs phyug ma* | centre/ above<br>ditto | *dkar gsal*<br>*dkar skya* | *(seṅ ge)*<br>ditto | *'khor lo dril* | *phuṅ po lṅa*[a]<br>*'byuṅ ba lṅa*[c] | *gti mug* | *chos dbyiṅs ye śes* | *'od lṅa*[b] |
| *rDo rje sems dpa' Mi bskyod pa*<br>*Saṅs rgyas spyan ma* | east<br>ditto | *mthiṅ gsal*<br>*mthiṅ skya* | *glaṅ chen*<br>ditto | *rdo rje dril* | *phuṅ po lṅa*<br>*'byuṅ ba lṅa* | *źe sdaṅ* | *me loṅ ye śes* | *'od lṅa* |
| *Rin chen 'byuṅ ldan*<br>*Māmakī* | south<br>ditto | *ser gsal*<br>*ser skya* | *rta mchog*<br>ditto | *rin chen dril* | *phuṅ po lṅa*<br>*'byuṅ ba lṅa* | *ṅa rgyal* | *mñam ñid ye śes* | *'od lṅa* |
| *sNaṅ ba mtha' yas*<br>*Gos dkar mo* | west<br>ditto | *dmar gsal*<br>*dmar skya* | *rma bya*<br>ditto | *padma dril* | *phuṅ po lṅa*<br>*'byuṅ ba lṅa* | *'dod chags* | *sor rtogs pa'i ye śes* | *'od lṅa* |
| *Don yod grub pa*<br>*Dam tshig grol ma* | north<br>ditto | *ljaṅ gsal*<br>*ljaṅ skya* | *śaṅ śaṅ*<br>ditto | *rgya gram dril* | *phuṅ po lṅa*<br>*'byuṅ ba lṅa* | *phrag dog* | *bya grub ye śes* | *'od lṅa* |

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[a] Not specified any further at the place of reference.
[b] Not specified any further at the place of reference.
[c] Not specified any further at the place of reference.

## *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*

| Five *Tathāgata-s* and consorts | *Skandha-s*/ *Bhūta-s* (*Phuṅ pol Kkams*) comm.2 | *Saṃsāric* quality comm.2 | Quality *Tathāgata-s* comm. 2 | Quality *Tathāgata-s* comm. 2 | *Bīja* | Quality *bīja* root-*tantra* | Quality *bīja* comm. 2 | Colour wisdom-light |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Mi bskyod pa*<br>*rDo rje dbyiṅs kyi dbaṅ phyug ma* | *rnam par śes po*<br>*nam mkha'i khams* | *źe sdaṅ* | *chos kyi dbyiṅs kyi ye śes śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa* | *sgyu 'phrul rdo rje ñid*<br>*mṅon rdzogs ñid* | *ta*<br>*ta* | *dra bas mṅon rdzogs ñid*[a] | *'jam bu'i kha 'dra ba*[b] | *'od lṅa*[c] |
| *rNam par snaṅ mdzad* (comm.2)<br>*Saṅs rgyas spyan ma* (comm.2) | (*gzugs*)<br>*sa* | (*gti mug*) | *me loṅ lta bu'i ye śes* | *snaṅ ba'i sgyu 'phrul ñid*<br>*brtan mo ñid* | *tha*<br>*tha* | *dra bas brtan pa ñid*[d] | *ri dags zu bu tha ra'i kha 'dra ba*[e] | *'od lṅa* |
| *Rin chen 'byuṅ ldan* (comm 2)<br>*Māmakī* (comm.2) | (*tshor ba*)<br>*chu* | (*ṅa rgyal*) | *mñam pa ñid kyi ye śes* | *sgyu 'phrul yid bźin ñid*<br>*lha me ñid* | *da*<br>*da* | *dra bas lham me ñid* | *mkha' 'gro kha 'dra ba*[f] | *'od lṅa* |
| *sNaṅ ba mtha' yas* (comm.2)<br>*Na bza' dkar ma* (comm.2) | (*'du śes*)<br>*me* | *'dod chags* | *sa so kun tu rtog pa'i ye śes* | *sgyu 'phrul rnam dag ñid*<br>*'khril pa ñid* | *dha*<br>*dha* | *dra bas 'khril pa ñid* | *ṅaṅ pa'i kha 'dra ba*[g] | *'od lṅa* |
| *Don yod par grub pa* (comm.2)<br>*Dam tshig sgrol ma* (comm.2) | (*'du byed*)<br>*rluṅ* | (*phrag dog*) | *bya ba grub pa'i ye śes* | *kun tu sgyu 'phrul ñid*<br>*kun tu 'gyur* | *na*<br>*na* | *dra bas kun tu 'gyur* | *sems can to la'i kha 'dra ba*[h] | *'od lṅa* |

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[a] First item, but attributed to *tha*.
[b] Indistinct, ink-stains.
[c] Not specified any further at the place of reference.
[d] Second item, but attributed to *ta*.
[e] Indistinct, ink-stains.
[f] Indistinct, ink-stains.
[g] Indistinct, ink-stains.
[h] Indistinct, ink-stains.

## *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* and *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*

| *Bde bar gśegs rigs lṅa* '<u>*Byuṅ ba*</u>*'i yum chen lṅa*[b] | Quarter[a] (*Phyags*) | *Nāḍī* (*rTsa*) | Colour body | Throne (*Khril gDan*) | Clothing (*Na bza'*) | *Mudrā* (*Phyag rgya*) | Enlightened category | *Saṃsāric* category |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kun snaṅ khyab pa bde bar gśegs thugs kyi lha* <u>*Nam mkha*</u>*'i lha mo yum* | centre | *citta gsaṅ rtsa* | *dkor gsal* | *seṅ ge'i ñi zla padma'i gdan* | *śel dkar na bza'* | *g-yos 'khor lo g-yon źags pa* | *stoṅ ñid ye śes* | *źe sdaṅ* |
| *gSal ba raṅ byuṅ bde bar gśegs sku yi lha* <u>*Sa*</u> *yi lha mo yum* | east | *mtsher pa'i gsaṅ rtsa* | *gser po* | *glaṅ chen ñi zla padma'i gdan* | *gser gyi na bza'* | *g-yos chags śiṅ g-yon 'khor lo* | *me loṅ ye śes* | *gti mug* |
| *dGe lha gar phyug bde bar gśegs yon tan lha* <u>*Rluṅ*</u> *gi lha mo yum* | north | *glo ba'i gsaṅ rtsa* | *ljaṅ gu* | *rta mchog ñi zla padma'i gdan* | *in tra'i na bza'* | *g-yos chags śiṅ g-yon 'khor lo* | *mñam ñid ye śes* | *ṅa rgyal* |
| *Bye brag dṅos med bde gśegs gsuṅ gi lha* <u>*Me*</u> *yi lha mo yum* | west | *mchin pa'i gsaṅ rtsa* | *dmar po* | *'brug chen ñi zla padma'i gdan* | *dar dmar na bza'* | *g-yas chags śiṅ g-yon 'khor lo* | *sor rtogs ye śes* | *'dod chags* |
| *dGa' ba don grub bde bar gśegs phrin las lha* <u>*Chu*</u> *yi lha mo yum* | south | *mkhal ma'i gsaṅ rtsa* | *mthiṅ gsal* | *khyuṅ chen ñi zla padma'i gdan* | *baidūra na bza'* | *g-yas chags śiṅ g-yon 'khor lo* | *bya grub ye śes* | *phrag dog* |

[a] Order inferred from the regular counter-clock-wise arrangement in the "*Bon*"-*maṇḍala*.
[b] N.B. the names of the elements are here incorporated into the names of the consorts.

I think it is safe to assume that it would not be relevant to present exhaustive tables for all the peaceful and wrathful deities here, moreover, scholars interested in such listings would probably prefer to have other texts screened than the ones selected for the purpose of this thesis. Additional deities will only be referred to when necessary for the line of argument; for a general understanding of the matter the information gathered elsewhere (e.g. Lauf (1975)) may suffice. In the following some material regarding the eight *Bodhisattva-s* and their (eight) consorts will also be discussed, most of the data adduced here can be found in the *Bodhisattva*-sections of tables presented in the second paragraph of the previous chapter.

In the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* the *skandha* perception (Tib. *rnam par śes pa*, *Skt. vijñāna*) is said to be the first to (re-)arise/emerge[294], which is described as a visionary appearance of the *Tathāgata* of the centre, *rNam par snaṅ mdzad*, or, in *Saṃskṛt*, *Vairocana*. This *skandha* is said to originate from the force of the obscuring emotion ignorance (Tib. *gti mug*, *Skt. moha*). The arising of this *skandha* is said to be associated with the element (Tib. *'byuṅ ba*, *Skt. bhūta*) of empty space (Tib. *nam mkha'*, *Skt. ākāśa*) personified by the *Tathāgata's* consort *Nam mkha'i dbyiṅs phyug ma* (*Skt. Ākāśadhātvīśvarī*). Recognition of the development that was triggered by ignorance as essentially a manifestation of one's own *dharmadhātu*-wisdom equals liberation from this process of becoming. Closing one's eyes to the possibility of all-encompassing wisdom and sticking with the conditioned disturbing emotion of ignorance amounts to a reinforcement of this tendency and is said to be conducive to a mode of existence dominated by ignorance, the so-called realm of the gods. In conjunction with the *Tathāgata rNam par snaṅ mdzad* and his consort *Nam mkha'i dbyiṅs phyug ma*, two *Bodhisattva-s*, *Sa yi sñiṅ po* (*Skt. Kṣitigarbha*) and *Byams pa* (*Skt. Maitreya*) and their consorts *rDo rje sgeg mo* (*Skt. (Vajra)lāsyā*) and *rDo rje me tog ma* (*Skt. (Vajra)puṣpā*) appear, representing the unfolding of, successively, the faculties of seeing and hearing when the *skandha* of perception arises. A similar story is told for the other four *skandha-s*, elements, etc.. Since the other descriptions were largely cast from the same mould they need not be presented (read: repeated) here, but can easily be gathered from the above tables. It is worthwhile, however, to note the order of re-appearance/emergence of the *skandha-s*: *vijñāna*, *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra-s*; to this we shall return shortly.

The "interpretations" of the wrathful deities largely follow that of their peaceful counterparts. The categories associated with the five *Tathāgata-s* and consorts roughly correspond to those of the five *Heruka-s* and consorts, so do the associations for the *Bodhisattva-s* and their consorts to those for the *Ke'u ri ma-s* and *'Phra men ma-s* successively and those of the four Gatekeepers to the four female Gatekeepers in the *krodha-maṇḍala* (which last also function as the leaders of the four bands of six animal-headed *Yoginī-s*). Only the six *Buddha-s* of the *bhavacakra* of the peaceful *maṇḍala* and the animal-headed *Yoginī-s* of the wrathful *maṇḍala* have no correspondence.

In general, in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, the peaceful deities are said to come from the diverse quarters of the heart (*loṅs sku'i lha tshogs bźi bcu rtsa gñis raṅ gi sñiṅ kha'i naṅ nas phyir (')thon nas: ...*[295]) and the wrathful deities appear from the

[294] Note that the description of the (re)arising of the *skandha-s* and the aggregation of the elements at the arising of a *bar do*-state (or birth for that matter) is by approximation a reversal of the process of "dissolution", or, speaking from the perspective of a dying person, first in last out.

[295] Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.34, ll.3f..

quarters of the brain (*raṅ gi klad pa'i naṅ nas (')thon nas*...[296]). The wrathful deities are said to be a transformation of the peaceful deities (*khrag 'thuṅ khro bo lha tshogs 'bar ba lṅa bcu rtsa brgyad: goṅ gi źi ba'i lha tshogs gnas 'gyur nas 'char du 'oṅ ṅo*). The *Vidyādhara-s* are, elsewhere,[297] associated with the throat.

These *Mahāyoga*-derived descriptions of the arising of the main constituents of the personality and of all the other aspects of the mental domain that are implied in the rest of the deities described, as is summarised in the conspectus at the beginning of this chapter, give a fine impression of how the human mind[298] was then[299] conceived of, by which forces and in which order it was thought to arise and eease to exist, what was considered to be its essential nature and from which elements it was thought to be composed. These descriptions reveal a quite sophisticated knowledge when it comes to discriminating different areas of the mental domain and to describing the functioning of the mind on an epistemological level; they moreover betray their origin, or maybe I should say, the limits of the reigning paradigm(s), in their selection of the *Buddhist* terminology used. It might be interesting to note here that, as indicated in the conspectus above, the several groups of deities are usually associated with a certain *cakra*[300]. Thus a *Mahāyoga*-description of deities appearing on the one hand, based on external visualisation, and a *rtsa rluṅ-yoga*-approach focusing on vital breath or energy (*prāṇa*) moving through subtle channels, eventually causing droplets of vital essence, *thig le*, to arise and or descend through various *cakra-s* along the central *nāḍī*, the *avadhūti* (Tib. *rtsa dbu ma*), on the other hand, in some eases actually refer to exactly the same categories. Both schemes apparently could serve to represent certain subtle and gross mental processes. What is significant, here, is the fact that descriptions of dying and rebirth make use of *rtsa rluṅ*-terminology while the more recent *chos ñid bar do*-descriptions resort to *Mahāyoga*-concepts in order to convey their message.

Moreover, if we bear in mind the exact timing for the appearance of the peaceful and wrathful deities, referred to in the end of the paragraph preceding this chapter (to wit, the descriptions of these deities in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* follow that of the arising of a subtle mental body), and if wc consider the nature of the categories associated with these deities, as they are outlined above, the cut and paste lines of the editing come to stand out quite clearly. The story of the re-arising/emerging of perception and of the various other *skandha-s* and faculties is told twice, even worse, it said to actually happen twice! First the faculties are said to arise (as a mental body), at once and complete, as we can surmise from thc parallel passage at the beginning of the *srid pa'i bar do*-text[301]-- where, by the way, we meet so many statements already familiar from *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, that I am inclined to say, as indicated before, with Back (1979), that this *bar do* was styled aftcr the *antarābhava* described there (amongst othcrs). And a littlc aftcr that we get a considerably more

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[296] Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.48, ll.16f..

[297] E.g. the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po*, private copy, recent edition from Tashijong-monastery: p.57, ll.4f.: *mgrin pa loṅs spyod 'khor lo'i rtsa 'bad la* ....

[298] Here used as the sum of what is conventionally conceived of as mental processes, not as a designation for the most subtle level (*vijñāna*) into which all subtle and course mental manifestations are said to dissolve (see the late description of the *'chi kha'i bar do* in the *gŹi sku gsum gyi rnam bśag rab gsal sgron me* (XL.0696) by *dByaṅs can dga' ba'i blo gros* or *A kya yoṅs 'dzin* (eighth century AD)).

[299] Even though we do not as yct exactly know when this "then" was.

[300] As at times also are each of the *Tathāgata-s* and other individual deities.

[301] See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.71, ll.14ff..

verbose description concerning the arising of the *Tathāgata-s* and *Bodhisattva-s* and their consorts, which are, as outlined above, quite explicitly said to represent the same process.
Obviously there was a need to elaborate on the re-arising/emerging of perception after a "disintegration" of the *skandha-s*[302], and obviously too, the arising of a subtle mental body as described (or rather preseribed) already for an *antarābhava* in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, eould not be omitted, not only for the risk of disrespecting the opinions of an ancient master and his sources, but also because the perception of these deities did, like any perception in a *bar do*-state, presuppose at least the *skandha* perception. The fact that sueh a conspicuous inconsistency in construction was tolerated only reinforces the urgency of the need to uphold or respect the interests indicated above. Significant in this respect is the order in which the *skandha-s* are said to arise (and "disintegrate"), the order of arising is the regular order in which the *skandha-s* are listed, with the exception of *vijñāna*, which is usually mentioned last yet is here said to appears first (and "dissolve" last). The reason for this adaptation of the order of the *skandha-s* might be due to an awareness of the fact that perception is necessarily the first and last *skandha* needed to witness the arising and declining of *bar do*, *vijñāna* has to turn the light-switch.
Moreover, the reason why an elaboration on this point was considered necessary in the first place, probably lies in a theoretical conflict related to this problem. The *skandha vijñāna* was involved in an unsatisfactory conflux of theories. First there was the theory concerning some kind of "dissolution" of the *skandha-s* of a person at death, the conventional person was generally conceived of as a mere temporary agglomeration of *skandha-s* that were characterised, amongst others, as impermanent. But there also was a notion of continuity through death (and an intermediate state) that adhered to one of these *skandha-s*, to wit, *vijñāna*. In short, *vijñāna* at the same time appears as a factor of transience and continuity.
And lastly, as discussed above, apparently a *Mahāyoga*-vocabulary was preferred here to a *rtsa rluṅ-yoga*-derived way of describing.

I have to add here, that already before the arising of perception several experiences are described, but these "accounts" pertain to an experience of the clear light of death, which, in essence, is designated as a non-dualistic experience, but which is, admittedly, difficult to perceive as such. I have the impression that the passage concerning the experience of the clear light of death originally belonged to the *'chi kha'i bar do*. It is significant in this respect that the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*[303], but also works of the *bKa' rgyud pa-siddha-s*[304] often explicitly refer to this experience as the clear light of <u>death</u> (*'chi ba'i 'od gsal*). Notable too, is the fact that the inclusion of a *chos ñid bar do* as extant in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* forces the redactor(s) to distinguish a first[305] and a second[306] experience of clear light of *dharmatā* (*chos ñid kyi 'od gsal*) at the end of a first (*'chi kha'i*) and the beginning of

[302] The question how this "disintegration" was exactly conceived of, especially whether a subtle carrier of *vijñāna* was thought to remain, and, possibly, of the other *skandha-s* contained in it, does not need to detain us here. The *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, for instance, is not very explicit on this point. In general the *rÑiṅ ma*-literature I studied so far does not elaborate on that point; all the evidence for a continuation of a subtle carrier of *vijñāna* I came across was presented in descriptions of the process of dying associated with the *dGe lugs pa*-tradition (e.g. in the *gŹi'i sku gsum rab gsal sgron me*, or in the *Kālacakra*-description of dying).
[303] See e.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.10, 1.1.
[304] See e.g. Kern 28.536.3, (*ka*): folios 162r, 1.4, 163r, 1.2, and 167v, 1.4.
[305] See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.8, 1.10.
[306] See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.11, 1.18.

the second (*chos ñid kyi*) *bar do* successively; for what would the second *bar do*, the *chos ñid bar do*, be without an experience of the *chos ñid kyi 'od gsal*? The *Ñi zla kha sbyor* has a more consistent redaction, omitting the experience of clear light from the descriptions of the *'chi kha'i bar do*, which feature would certainly not argue for a greater antiquity of this text relative to the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, but at the moment I am not so sure as to whether these texts may at all be compared on a level suggesting such a close relation.

At this point I should confess that the title to this chapter might to some extent be misleading, for the idea that forms in the mind of a present-day reader when considering the term "traditional 'interpretations' of *źi khro*" might not exactly represent the way in which the authors of the texts concerned associated a deity with certain categories. A deity might for instance be conceived of not so much as a representation of something else, which it as some kind of abstraction or symbol refers to and in which terms it has to be interpreted, but as actually standing for it, as if it were, conceptually, occupying the same "place". That is to say, though differentiated and viewed from a another angle the deity might not be considered as fundamentally different from what it was associated with. The conceptual leeway we show, when assuming that the concept deity is an abstraction, which should be interpreted as a certain, say mental, category, which in turn requires another, possibly psychological, interpretation, might be too much to presuppose for the writers of the material we are concerned with here. How exactly these deities were eoneeived of by different authors at certain points in time is, of course, difficult to establish, but at any rate we should be careful not to thoughtlessly project our own conceptual frameworks unto these texts.
So when talking about a "traditional interpretation" we are actually referring to the way the deities were then and there said to be conceived of, without presuming to exactly know how, or to know whether or not the associations listed were the result of conscious interpretation.
This consideration brings us to the next chapter in which an attempt will be made to consciously (re)interpret or translate the information presented in the texts analysed above into more familiar concepts, which might amount to no more or less than explicitly indicating some of the models we might, and subconsciously probably already do, use, when trying to make sense of the descriptions of a *źi khro-maṇḍala* as for instance described in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

But before venturing out on the slippery paths of interpretation, I should first like to present a most remarkable late Tibetan *Buddhist* testimony of a discussion on the nature of *źi khro*. This discussion is recorded in a work on *bar do-s* by a seventeenth-eentury *rÑiṅ ma pa*-scholar from south-eastern Tibet, *rTse le sna tshogs raṅ grol* (1608-?), ealled *Bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam par gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me loṅ*[307]. This short consideration touches upon so many interesting points that it deserves to be quoted in full:

[307] See The collected works (gSuṅ 'bum) of rTse le sna tshogs raṅ grol, reproduced from a collection of manuscripts from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche by Sanje Dorje, two volumes, Volume II, pp.139-233, esp. p.202, l.6 - p.206, l.2, New Delhi 1974 (XL.2352/3). The *Bar do spyi'i don* is translated by Erik Pema Kunsang as The Mirror of Mindfulness, The Cycle of the Four Bardos, Boston 1989 (see esp. pp.61-63).

༈ ཡང་། འདི་ །།༣༠༧་༡།། སྐབས་སུ་གང་ཟག་ལ་ལའི་བསམ་ཡུལ་སུ[308]་རྫོགས་ཆེན་མ་གཏོགས་པའི་ཆོས་གཞན་ལས་ནི་བར་དོ་དང་པོའི་འོད་གསལ་མ་ཟིན་ན་ །།༢།། རྣམ་ཤེས་འཐོན་ཏེ་སྲིད་པ་བར་དོ་འབར་བར་བཤད་པ་ལས། སྒྲ་འོད་ཟེར་གསུམ་མམ། ཞི་ཁྲོའི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་འཆར་ཚུལ་མི་འབྱུང་ལ། གལ་ཏེ་འཆར་ །།༣།། བ་ཡིན་ནའང་རང་རང་གི་ཆོས་ལུགས་དང་ཉམས་ལེན་གང་བྱེད་དེའི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཤར་ན་མ་གཏོགས། ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་རྙིང་མ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཞི་ཁྲོ་འཆར་བ་མི་སྲིད་སྐམ་པ་སོགས་འབྱུང་ །།༤།། མོད་ཀྱི། །དེ་ལ་སྤྱི་ཆོས་ལུགས་སོ་སོའི་ལམ་རིམ་མན་ངག་དེ་དང་ཆ་མཐུན་པར་བར་དོའི་གདམས་པ་ཡང་ཆ་ཚད་འབྱུང་མོད་ལ། རང་རང་གི་རྒྱུད་གཞུ་ །།༥།། དེ་ཀའི་དགོངས། དོན་ལྟར་ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་འདོན་ཕྱོགས་ཀུང་གང་ཡང་མཆིས་ཏེ། འགའ་ཞིག་ལས་བསྐྱེད་རིམ་གཙོ་བོར་གསུངས་པ་དང་། །།༦།། ལ་ལར་ཐབ[309]་ལམ་བདེ་སྟོང་གི་ཉམས་ལེན་ལ་རྒྱལ་དུ་བཏོན་པ་དང་། གཞན་དག་ཏུ་སྤྲོས་མེད་ཁོ་ནར་དྲིལ་བར་གསུངས་པ་སོགས་མཐའ་ཡས་མོད་ །།༣༠༨་༡།། ཀྱི། ད་ལྟ་ཉམས་ལེན་གང་ལ་གོམས་པ་དེས་བར་དོར་སྙིབ་དགོས་པ་གཞིར་བཅས་ཀྱང་། རྫོགས་ཆེན་སྙིང་ཏིག་སོགས་ནི་ཁྲིག་ཆོད་ཐོད་རྒལ་ཟུང་འཇུག །།༢།། ཏུ་ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་པའི་སྐབས་ཡིན་པས། ད་ལྟ་དེ་དག་ལ་གོམས་ཆེ་བར་དོ་ཡང་དེ་ལྟར་ཤར་ཞིང་། དེ་ལ་ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི[310]་སྙིབ་ན་གྲོལ་བར་ཡང་གཞིར་ །།༣།། གྲུབ་ལ། ཆོས་གཞན་ནས་ཐོད་རྒལ་གྱི་ཉམས་ལེན་དངོས་སུ་མ་གསུང་བས་བར་དོ་དེ་དག་འཆར་བ་ཡང་མ་གསུངས་མོད་ཀྱང་། སྒྲ་འོད་ཟེར་གསུམ་ནི་རླུང་ །།༤།། སེམས་དབྱེར་མེད་དངས་མ་ལྷུ་འདུས་རྐྱེན་ལས་ནམ་ཀྱང་འཆར་ལ། ཡང་འཕྲང་སྒྲོལ་ཆེན་མོ་སོགས་ནས། དོན་གྱི[311]་རྩ་རླུང་ཐིག་ལེ་རྣམས་ནི་ནམ་དུ་ཡང་འབྲལ་ །།༥།། བ་མེད་པར་གསུངས་པའི་དོན་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་དུས་འཁོར་སྦྱོར་དྲུག་ནི་རྫོགས་ཆེན་གྱི་སྣང་སྲུན་ཉམས་སུ་ལེན་ཚུལ་དང་མཐུན་ཅིང་། ། ལྷ་འཆར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ །།༦།། འགྲོ་བ་ཕུང་པོ་ཁམས་སྐྱེ་མཆེད་ཐམས་ཅད་གདོད་ནས་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཉིད་དུ་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་ཚུལ་ནི་རྒྱུད་སྡེ་ཀུན་མཐུན་ཆེ། ཕུང་པོ་ལྔ་

[308] Emend: *bsam yul du*; in *dbu med*-script *su* resembles: *tsheg* + *du*.
[309] Emend: *thabs*.
[310] Emend: *gyis*.
[311] Emend: *don gyis*?

ཡང་རིགས་ལྔ་དང་། འབྱུང་བ་ ||༡༠༥་༡|| ལྔ་ཡུམ་ལྔ། ཚོར་བརྒྱད་སེམས་དཔའ་
བརྒྱད། ཡུལ་བརྒྱད་སེམས་མ་བརྒྱད་སོགས་ཡེ་ནས་ཡིན་ཆེ། དམ་པ་རིགས་བརྒྱ་བཤད་
པའི་ཁོངས་སུ་ལྔ་ ||༣|| གཞན་ཀུང་མ་འདུས་མེད་དང་། འོན་ཀུང་སྐུ་མདོག་ཕྱག་མཚན་
སོགས་མི་གཅིག་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ནི་སྣང་གཞི་སྣང་བྱེད་ཀྱི་དག་སྦྱོར་སོ་སོ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བཤད་
||༣|| པ་མ་གཏོགས། དོན་དམ་པར་ནི་རང་རིག་སྐུ་གསུམ་དབྱེར་མེད་དམ་སྐུ་གཉིས་ཟུང་
འཇུག་དུ་མ་འདུས་པའི་ལྷ་དང་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ནི་འགར་ཡང་མེད་པ་དང་། རང་རང་གི་བག
||༨|| ཆགས་གོམས་འཕྲིས་ཀྱི་མཐུ་ལས་ནི་དམ་པ་རིགས་བརྒྱར་མ་ཟད་གཞན་འཆར་བ་
ཡང་མ་ངེས་ལ། སྡིག་པ་ཅན་ལ་གཤིན་རྗེའི་སྐྱེས་བུར་སྣང་བས་ཡང་རང་ཉིད་ ||༥|| ཀྱི་
ལས་སྣང་དུ་ཟད་ཅིང་། དོན་ལ་ནི་གང་དང་གང་ལྟར་ཤར་ཡང་རང་སྣང་ཉིད་དུ་ཤེས་
དགོས་པ་ནི་གནད་དམ་པའོ། གཞན་ཡང་ཇི་སྐད་དུ། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་རྣམས་ ||༦|| འཕོ་
བའི། ཁྲག་འཐུང་ལ་སོགས་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ལས། མི་ཏོག་སྣ་ཚོགས་ལག་ན་འཐོག། རྒྱལ་
མཚན་བ་དན་སྣ་ཚོགས་དང་། རོལ་མོའི་སྒྲ་ནི་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས། ||༡༠༦་༡|| འཆི་བ་ཞེས་
བྱ་རྣམ་རྟོག་སྟེ། མཁའ་སྤྱོད་གནས་སུ་ཁྲིད་པར་བྱེད། ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་འདི་ཡང་རྟེང་
ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཉིད་བར་དོ་དང་དགོངས་མཐུན་པར་སྣང་ངོ་ ||༣|| ལར། ...

... Furthermore, these days, in the imagination of some individuals, on the basis of what is taught from other teachings, not belonging to *rDzogs chen* -- to wit, if one does not understand the clear light of the first *bar do*, perception emerges and then the *bar do* of becoming unfolds -- the triad of sound, light and rays or the manner of arising of the host of peaceful and wrathful deities would not occur and even if they (the deities) would arise there would be no (essential) relation, since that host of deities will have arisen that pertains to one's particular school and the practice one performs, it would be impossible that the peaceful and wrathful deities of the *rÑiṅ ma* school would arise for all people; thus indeed occurs to (their) mind etc.(?).

In general *bar do*-teachings regarding this do indeed exist in accordance with the aspects of the particular stages and instructions of a school, so then manifesting in the right capacity and even (in accordance with) the emphasis and approach of practice according to the sense and meaning of a specific section of one's particular *tantra*, whatever it might be:

in some the generation stage is proclaimed as the highest;
in some the emphasis is put on the practice of bliss and emptiness pertaining to the path of means;

in others one is exhorted to just poise (literally: gather) oneself in the absenee of activity;

and so forth;

limitless they are indeed. With the practiee one is presently accustomed to, one also possesses the basis that one needs when arriving in *bar do*.

Because the *rDzogs chen*(-teachings like) *sÑiṅ tig* etc. are an opportunity to praetice in *Khreg chod* and *Thod rgal* as an indivisible unity (or possibly, in *Khreg chod, Thod rgal*, and *Zuṅ 'jug*), and since being aceustomed to them now, *bar do* will also arise in that manner, if one reaches that (level) by practiee one has also realised it as the basis for one's release. And because the practice of *Thod rgal* is not aetually explained in other teaehings, it is indeed also not mentioned (there) that those (specific experiences) manifest in *bar do*.

But the sound, light and rays, will always manifest, for the reason that the indivisible *prāṇa*-mind is composed of the five essences, likewise the meaning promulgated in the *'Phraṅ sgrol chen mo* and the like, that one is essentially never separated from *nāḍī*, *prāṇa* and *bindu*, and also (in) the *Dus 'khor* and *sByor drug*, which accord with the *rDzogs chen sNaṅ mun*-practice, and since all sections of the *tantra-s* agree that the deities arising also are the realms, *skandha-s*, elements, sense-organs, and the rest, that are from the beginning in the manner of spontaneous presence (contained) in the *maṇḍala* itself, the five *skandha-s* also are from the beginning the five (*Tathāgata-s* pertaining to the five *Buddha*)-families, the five elements are the five consorts, the eight perceptions[312] are the eight *Bodhisattva-s*, the eight realms of perception are the eight female *Bodhisattva-s*, and so forth, and there is no other deity that is not comprised within <the sphere of> what is explained as the revered host of one hundred (deities), but still, the various diverging body-colours, attributes, ete. are excepted, they are explained depending on the exact individual eombination of the basis that has to be purified and that which purifies. In highest truth, there is not a deity or *maṇḍala* for whomsoever that is not contained in the indivisible *trikāya* of self-awareness (or) the revered unity of the two *kāya-s*, and it is not certain that, resulting from the power of one's individual tendencies and habits, others than the revered host of one hundred (deities) will (not) also arise; while appearing as *Yama's* men to the sinful it is still only a manifestation of their own *karma*, fundamentally, no matter what and how it manifests, it is important to recognise it as in essence one's own conception, that is the highest quintessence.

As it is also worded elsewhere,

When *yogin-s* pass away from here
The group of the *Heruka-s* and the *Yoginī-s*
Holding various flowers in their hands
And various banners and pennants,
With divers sounds of music proclaim:
"So-called death is a mental construction"
Leading the *tantric* practitioners to their state.

[312] The text reads *tshor ba*, here, not the usual *rnam śes*.

> Being phrased thus, this too, seems to be in accordance with the *chos ñid bar do* of the *rÑiṅ ma* school and its meaning. ...

Notwithstanding *rTse le sna tshogs raṅ grol's* apparent preference for the eternal-knot-like type of Tibetan sentence, which at times prattles along happily for half a page or more (a "structure" which I have struggled to retain as well as possible in my translation), the author manages to be quite clear and explicit on the point of "interpretation". Probably due to the fairly late date of composition, his approach rings far more familiar in our ear than the implicit interpretations contained in the rather mechanically construed associations offered in previous centuries and almost deserves to be classified as an interpretation in a more modern sense (without quotation marks).

*rTse le sna tshogs raṅ grol* confirms that there are traditions, other than *rDzogs chen*, that transmit teachings in which there is no reference to the experiences of sound, light and rays, nor to peaceful and wrathful deities after death, in fact they do not seem to have teachings on a *chos ñid bar do* as such, the *'chi kha'i bar do* is, if release at death is not realised, immediately followed by a *srid pa'i bar do*. Furthermore these people seem to attribute the appearance of peaceful and wrathful deities to the particular visualisation practice the adept was engaged in. It is interesting that our *rÑiṅ ma* spokesman does not discard this last allegation completely. He concedes that after-death-experiences are conditioned by practice, but at the same time maintains that the experiences of sound light and rays are universal. He is moreover convinced that the deities, if perceived, stand for the categories they are traditionally associated with, nevertheless allowing for some variation in body-colours, attributes and the like. And even though he deems the *maṇḍala* of one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities to be all-comprehensive, he seems to accept that some people might not experience it in that form after death, he even leaves room for other deviating appearances according to the particular conditioning of the person involved, and points out that all after-death-experiences are but manifestations of one's own mental activity and as such are inseparable from one's own self-awareness (*raṅ rig*).

It is hard to describe the satisfaction a researcher feels when stumbling upon a set of statements like this. The passage quoted reflects a critical attitude that developed from discussion that resulted from criticism on the *rÑiṅ ma rDzogs chen*-version of a *chos ñid bar do* with a *źi khro-maṇḍala*, while indicating some of the other opinions current, it makes a quite explicit statement on a *rÑiṅ ma rDzogs chen*-position.

From these considerations of *rTse le sna tshogs raṅ grol* I should like to proceed towards the next chapter, in which a further interpretation of traditional "interpretations" of *źi khro* will be attempted.

# 3 An Attempt at "Translating" the *Kar gliṅ źi khro*

In the previous chapter we examined several traditional "interpretations" of *źi khro*, mostly consisting of implicit associations, but also featuring a more explicit consideration by *rTse le rin po che*. Though there definitely are quite significant differences in the categories associated with the several deities in individual texts, there appears to be a rather large degree of agreement between most of the texts examined, certainly as far as the more frequently used deities are concerned, and thus there seems to be enough common ground for a general discussion. In this chapter I will try to extend the "interpretation" by associating the deities and the categories related to them with other and partly more modern concepts and theories regarding the subject.
In the seven sub-sections of the first paragraph in this chapter I will discuss some theories and accounts relevant to the subject that one could meet with today:

1. Very interesting are the findings of experiments employing sensory deprivation.
2. Moreover I should like to briefly relate the more "epistemological" considerations in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and related texts concerning the (re)arising of perception and conditioned mental processes to some recent insights from a relatively new (inter)discipline, the so-called cognitive science, as far these are accessible to a non-specialist.
3. Jungian psychology will also be briefly referred to.
4. Furthermore I should like to review recent research into accounts of acclaimed experiences of an intermediate state as reported in Tibetan *'das log*-stories and
5. some relevant material in recent publications on reports of near-death-experiences as well as
6. experiences related by patients undergoing hypnotic regression.
7. Lastly I should like to address some studies concerned with the various conceptions of a subtle body.

In the second paragraph of this chapter I will attempt to rephrase some of the experiences described in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* making use of the concepts and imagery reviewed in the previous paragraph.

### 3.1.1 Sensory Deprivation

An interesting field of study that will be briefly considered here is that of deprivation-experiments, in which the experimental subject is deprived of "normal" sensory input by diverse means, e.g. by sensory isolation (sensory deprivation) or by monotonising the sensory stimuli (perceptual deprivation), and the resulting changes in consciousness are screened by various, unfortunately not always compatible, methods.
The first systematic experiments in this direction were undertaken in the fifties in McGill University in Montreal, Canada; since that time scientific work in this new

field of study has continued[313]. I shall here sum up some of the most relevant general findings of these and related experiments as they are presented in Zubek, et al. (1969). Induced by sensory deprivation certain, mostly visual, experiences can occur ranging from the perception of amorphous spots and diffuse light or flashes of light, occasionally interpreted as e.g. fire or clouds of smoke, through geometric shapes and forms, to more or less complex animate or inanimate objects or scenes. The visual experiences reported are variously classified as "hallucinations", "images", and "reported sensations".

Distinctions may, and up to a certain degree can, be made between illusions, waking hallucinations, hypnagogic hallucinations, (night)dreams, fantasies, daydreams, and images. The distinction "real" and "imagined" should be controllable by proper deprivation-conditions (no leaks). Illusions refer to distortions of real objects in the case of monotone or diffuse stimulation. The distinction between waking hallucinations, hypnagogic hallucinations, and (night)dreams, can be detected by establishing the wakefulness of the subject. Hallucinations occur during waking states, hypnagogic hallucinations during drowsy states, and dreams during "stage one" sleep. The arousal level can be measured by EEG-recordings, nightdreams by recording REM (Rapid Eye Movements). The distinctions between hallucinations, (night)dreams, fantasies, daydreams, and images mainly depend on subjective reports. Images are reported as having a pleasant effect, being to some extent under control, being located in space in front, being familiar, and as having some subject participation. These sensations typically changed somewhat, were coloured and three-dimensional, realistic, and frequently spontaneous. Nightdreams are reportedly less familiar, but require more participation. Daydreams are said to be more pleasant and more multicoloured and to be localised in the subject's head. Hallucinations can further be characterised as being uncontrollable in onset, content and termination, as being "out there", scanable, and apparently real. Sensory deprivation-hallucinations are distinct from psychotic hallucinations, which tend to appear suddenly without premonitory symptoms, occur during states of intense affect, may be superimposed on a visual environment that is otherwise normal and are generally seen with the eyes open; the majority of psychotic hallucinations are moreover auditory. In the specific case of schizophrenic hallucinations many religious, supernatural figures, or symbolic figures and objects tend to appear. Drug-induced hallucinations show more resemblance to sensory deprivation-hallucinations, coloured patterns and geometrical forms dominate, but they are usually more colourful, vivid, and persistent.

The visual sensations typically show a progression from simple, unstructured, meaningless sensations to more complex, structured, meaningful ones. There does not seem to be any influence of motivational or sex-differences on the deprivation-experiences, some experiments report an inverse relation between intelligence and the complexity of the reported visual sensation.[314]

Often changes in intellectual performance are reported. Subjects generally experience major difficulties in thinking coherently and in concentrating during sensory deprivation, it reportedly takes (too) much effort to follow a specific train of thought for an extended period of time.[315]

[313] See Introduction and Historical Background in Zubek, et al. (1969), pp.3ff..
[314] See Zubek, et al. (1969), pp.86-94, further references provided there.
[315] See Zubek, et al. (1969), pp.126-166.

### 3.1.2 Cognitive Science

Admittedly a rather presumptuous title for a modest contribution like the one contained here, even more so, since this so-called cognitive science stands for the united efforts in unravelling cognitive processes by scientists of no less than five disciplines -- to wit, psychology, linguistics, computer science, philosophy, and neuroscience.

Our main objective is a juxtaposition of the more introspective and intuitive insights from Indo-Tibetan contemplative traditions on an acclaimed (re)arising of perception after the moment of death and the experiences described for the "period" immediately following, with some relevant theories and results from modern more empirically oriented research regarding the nature and functioning of cognitive processes. This being our main concern the disciplines of cognitive psychology on a higher level of theory-formation and neuropsychology and neurophysiology on the root-level of implementation of cognitive theory in general promise to yield the most relevant information.

Though it is not very difficult to meet with interesting general hypotheses and theories on the various levels of functioning of cognitive processes, which can be located relatively easily in secondary literature (see bibliographical references in Stillings, et al. (1995)), time does not permit me to track down, if extant at all, in sufficient detail more specific information regarding the arising of perception and theories concerning changes in cognitive processes as a result of changed levels of consciousness (waking, sleep, trance, and the like), like for instance briefly skimmed in the above-mentioned deprivation-experiments. In general the present state of knowledge, as presented in Stillings, et al. (1995), strikes me as rather unsatisfactory, espeeially the connection between models for cognitive processes and possible neurological implementation up until now, notwithstanding the promising prospects, still remains rather difficult to establish. Still, some of the more general insights into human cognition deserve to be briefly reviewed here. I will refrain from referring to passages in Stillings, et al. (1995) at each and every instance, the index and table of contents in that work will easily guide the reader to the relevant pages.

One basic insight, which cognitive psychology shares with *Yogācāra-Buddhism*, is almost too flat and self-evident to mention, namely that human cognition is based on representation of information. Maybe more surprising is the theory that the processing, storing and retrieving of representational data does not so much involve the concrete representations themselves as well more or less meaningful patterns of these data, that is to say that the human mind works with various levels of abstraction, representations of patterns of representations, from which the lowest level of data can be reconstructed with enough accuracy. This feature allows the human mind to store, retrieve and manipulate far greater amounts of information than when dealing with concrete data on the lowest level, for the working memory of the human mind appears to be very limited (if we have to work with more than two or three variables at a time we already tend to rely on pencil-and-paper-memory). Dealing with higher levels of abstraction also ensures higher processing speed. But inter- and extra-polation of cognitive patterns during reconstruction of the primary data may result in inaccuracies or even errors, as for instance in the case of a witness "remembering" more than he actually saw at a certain event, because he reconstructed the patterns in which he stored the information by means of interpolations based on experience that proved to be generally applicable in similar situations, but that might not fully apply in the particular case (for instance the white-haired man while "remembered" as an aged

person was actually a thirty-year old albino male). There are obviously (learning) skills involved in applying rules for storing, modifying and employing these levels of abstraction accurately.

Moreover information seems to be stored by linking it to other related data and patterns of data, the more links established the easier some piece of information can be retrieved, but as a consequence, more irrelevant links and possibly corrupt associations are available also.

These mechanisms leave us with a highly efficient data-management and computation system, geared to storage capacity and retrieval and computational speed rather than to exact one-to-one representation, and therefore also with a system highly prone to error and illusion. It is only by experience and continuous learning, by flexibility, that we manage to keep up to date and before all, "in touch with reality", however functional this locution may be interpreted, while on the other hand, in skill-acquisition, we manage to assure a high degree of accuracy and tremendous processing speed of certain repetitive but possibly critical tasks by lowering the threshold for an "automated" and thus just more or less inflexible, execution of script-like patterns. Moreover, motivation, goals, focus of attention, receptivity, mood, etc. but also pure coincidence are factors influencing, for instance, if and how information is stored and can be retrieved.

Such an analyses of cognitive processes allows for many possibilities of experiences that do not, or only to a limited degree, correspond to certain actual or past stimuli from without or from within the individual, not only illusion but also various degrees of blending of sensory perception and illusion are possible.

### 3.1.3 Jungian Psychology, Not Discussed

There undoubtedly are many more relevant approaches to be found within (or, as regards some of the more speculative approaches, according to some, rather without) the confines of psychological sciences and related disciplines. Jungian analyses, for instance, of the imagery used in the descriptions of the visual experiences described for the *chos ñid bar do* along the lines of archetypes, might prove to be helpful for the understanding of these descriptions that appear so strangely archaic and exotic to our present-day thinking. Unfortunately it is rather difficult, especially for a non-specialist, to do justice to the vast and complex theoretical constructions that were initiated by Carl Gustav Jung within the scope of just one paragraph of a thesis. Moreover, some of the assumptions underlying Jungian theory are so controversial that it seems difficult to refer to them without further justification. Just to make use of some of his insights without paying attention to all the far-reaching implications of the postulations involved, like "a collective subconscious" for instance, does not seem to be advisable, in addition to that, the theoretical framework construed by Jung and his followers strikes me, as a non-adept, as particularly dense and closed unto itself, which would further discourage a haphazard borrowing of stray concepts that have some appeal to the general reader. In short, I prefer to leave such a, doubtlessly interesting, discussion to a Jungian scholar. I do not consider myself qualified for such an undertaking and moreover cannot conceal the fearful apprehension that a Jungian analyses of the experiences indicated would just exchange the density of *tantric* statements with that of Jungian statements without actually clarifying much for a non-Jungian adept. There is, of course, Jung's much read and discussed psychological commentary to the "Tibetan Book of the Death" (in the translation by Lāma Kazi

Dawa-Samdup, edited by Evans-wentz (1927), pp.xxxv-lii)[316]. Lauf (1975, pp.243-255) also devotes some attention to this approach. A more recent attempt to link up Tibetan *Buddhism* in general to Jungian psychology can be found in Moacanin (1986).

### 3.1.4 *'Das log*-Accounts

Francoise Pommaret recently[317] published some material regarding both literary and more recent verbal accounts of people from the Tibetan and Himālayan regions that claim to have returned to (the same) life after having passed away, the so-called "*'das log*". In her book "Les Révenants de L'Au Déla dans le Monde Tibétain" (1989) she reviews the reception and discussion of this phenomenon in Western literature, Tibetan and Bhutanese sources, and lastly presents some material she gathered by interviewing *'das log*-persons during field-work in Nepal and Bhutan. I do not intend to repeat her findings here, but I should like to briefly refer to *'das log*-accounts on a *chos ñid bar do* presented in a discussion in a section on "Le Livre des Morts tibétains (Bardo thos grol)"[318]. The descriptions of the *chos ñid bar do* that are here compared to the text of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* are taken from *'das log*-reports extant in the biography of a Bhutanese woman named *Saṅs rgyas chos 'dzom* -- the *rJe btsun spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pa 'das log saṅs rgyas chos 'dzom gyis źag bdun mar dmyal khams daṅ yar źiṅ khams bcas mjal ba'i lo rgyus rnam thar khyad par can*[319] --. which are summarised in Pommaret (1989), pp.29-67. According to Pommaret this biography does not predate the second half of the seventeenth century.

Though they have a fair amount of material in common, the stories related do not follow the narrative line familiar from *Bar do thos grol*-texts. Amongst the many often mythological descriptions of otherworldly wanderings and insights into hells and paradises, some scarce material that seems to pertain to a *chos ñid bar do* appears, which, on the whole, could accord reasonably well with experiences described in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs. Saṅs rgyas chos 'dzom* reports visions of several wrathful deities, after experiencing these visions she lost consciousness and her *Yi dam*, that functions very much like a guide here, explained to her that the terrors she experienced just now are in fact the *źi khro*, which appear to all deceased. At another (later) point she also makes mention of the five *Tathāgata-s*, the realms of rebirth and the *Buddha-s* pertaining to them (this actually agrees better with the order of mention in the *Bar do spyi'i don* than with that in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*). On pp.108f. Pommaret neatly lists these experiences in combination with similar ones described in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, but I strongly advise the reader of her work to also refer to the summarising translation provided on pp.29-67 or to the original reports[320], since the order and context in which these passages occur make the accordance appear much less convincing than her conspectus suggests.

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[316] For a critical reflection on the understanding, competence and merits of the authors mentioned in the field of this particular literature see Reynolds (1989), Appendix I, pp.71-115.

[317] See Pommaret (1989) and (1992).

[318] See Pommaret (1989), pp.106-110.

[319] Published in Thimphu in 1980, the original manuscript is according to Pommaret in private possession somewhere in *bKra śis sgaṅ* in eastern Bhutan.

[320] References provided in the conspectus on pp.108f. are to the Thimphu-edition, not to her summarising translation.

### 3.1.5 Near-Death-Experiences

For many people the name Raymond Moody is indissolubly connected with the popularisation of research on near-death-experiences. It is to no small extent due to his literary efforts that this purportedly not infrequent phenomenon[321] has become a familiar topic in the Western world. But still, he is only one of the many researchers (Melvin Morse, Michael Sabom, Michael Grosso, Kenneth Ring, Robert Sullivan, to name a few) working in this field of study. In recent decades many reports regarding these experiences were gathered and categorised. Some general features can be listed that are frequently reported and could hence be seen as characteristic for a near-death-experience, these characteristics are by no means fully present in all reports[322]:

- a notion of being dead, which often takes some time to "sink in";
- a sensation of peace and freedom from bodily discomfort;
- a notion of being separated from one's body, reports of having a subtle body of some kind instead;
- an experience similar to passing through a dark tunnel or other passage-way with a bright light at the end, not all those questioned mention this experience; some report to float into the air and to quickly move away from the earth.
- meeting people that apparently are made of some kind of intense and warm glowing light, often identified as relatives and friends; sometimes descriptions of pastoral scenery and the like; direct communication without words or visual or other sensory signals;
- meeting a supreme being of light, identified, often according to the religious background of the subject, as various known or unknown religious or holy figures;
- a panoramic three-dimensional full-colour review of one's life; this review lacks a fixed chronological order, but is experienced in full in one single moment and interaction is viewed not only from the perspective of the subject but also from that of the object;
- many designate these experiences as pleasant and only regretfully return to their previous state;
- often mention is made of a barrier of some kind, which when trespassed would prove to be a point of no return;[323]
- subjects report a different sense of space and time, conventional progression of time does not seem to apply and neither do customary limits of spatial separation.

It is difficult to associate these experiences with those described in Tibetan *Bar do*-literature like *Bar do thos grol*-texts, especially with descriptions of a *chos ñid bar do* -- the older concept of a *srid pa'i bar do* seems to offer more opportunities for comparison. Except for references to out-of-the-body-experiences, the descriptions of a subtle body, and general references to light and other visual or auditory perceptions there do not seem to be very precise and striking similarities. Neither do *'das log*-stories as gathered and presented by Pommaret show more than some slight and

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[321] A Gallup poll in 1982 revealed that about five percent of the interviewed Americans reported a near-death-experience.

[322] See Moody (1988), pp.21-30.

[323] N.B. this point is not mentioned in Moody (1988), pp.21-30 but in Moody (1975), pp.62-65.

general resemblance to near-death-experiences as presented by Moody. But since the relevance of such a comparison to the present study does not seem to be very great not in the last place because the *srid pa'i bar do* is not our main concern here, I should like to leave this question aside and conclude this consideration by referring to several opinions of Tibetan scholars on this point.

The late *'Jam mgon koṅ sprul* the third, when asked after a lecture, emphatically denied that any experience beyond the clear light of death could be reported in a near-death-experience since the clear light of death is per definition a point of no return.

*rTse le sna tshogs raṅ grol* in his *Bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam par gsal bar byed pa'i me loṅ*, situates this point earlier in the *'chi kha'i bar do*. He calls upon the authority of the *Bar do 'phraṅ sgrol* here. According to *rTse le rin po che* one ean recover from an illness up until the general signs of death (*mthun moṅ gi 'chi rtags*), but at the onset of the special signs of death (*khyad par gyi 'chi rtags*), i.e. the stages of "dissolution" of the gross and subtle thoughts and conceptions (*snaṅ rtogs kyi 'phra rag gi thim rim rnams*), the process of dying is irreversible[324].

The contemporary *rDzogs chen*-teacher Sogyal Rinpoche, in his "Tibetan Book of Living and Dying"[325], is less prudent or conservative in this respect and points to several similarities of near-death-experiences and especially *srid pa'i bar do*-descriptions. He moreover feels that the *'das log*-accounts correspond not only to *bar do*-teachings, such as contained in *Bar do thos grol*-texts, but also to near-death-experiences[326].

### 3.1.6 Hypnotic Regression

These considerations bring us to recent research of Joel Whitton[327]. As a psychiatrist Whitton made use of hypnotic regression. In cases where therapeutical regression to early youth proved to be of no avail, he tried working with regressions to purported previous lives. Quite by accident, by giving an ambiguous instruction during a hypnotic regression session in 1974, a patient started to relate experiences from an out-of-the-body-perspective. According to the answers given by the patient these experiences were interpreted by Whitton as not pertaining to the previous life she was guided back to nor to the life before that, to which he had tried to guide the imagination of the patient; they were apparently, that is considering the reported impressions, perceived by the patient as being located in an interval between two consecutive lives: she was watching her mother from above and reported to be waiting to be born from her[328]. From this derailed regression Whitton started to investigate the issue of an intermediate state more systematically. He consciously tried to guide subjects to a period between two lives and recorded the reported experiences and thus managed to gather reports from more than thirty subjects.

The accounts of this period between lives, here dubbed "bardo", are presented by Joe Fisher who actually wrote the book based on Whitton's findings. Unfortunately Fisher made rather generous concessions towards general appeal to a large public and is not very precise in indicating what is actually based on reports and what is a result of his or perhaps Whitton's extrapolations and personal convictions, let alone that he would

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[324] See XL.2352/3, p.161, ll.1-3, cf. Kunsang (1989), p.31).
[325] See Sogyal Rinpoche (1992), pp.319-336.
[326] See Sogyal Rinpoche (1992), pp.330f..
[327] See Whitton (1986).
[328] See Whitton (1986), pp.24-30.

present any statistical information regarding the recorded reports. So it is a little hazardous to try to extract general conclusions of Whitton's research from Fisher's juicy rendering.
Nevertheless as far as I can gather from Fisher's presentation the reports seem to be remarkably consistent. They also are in many points -- again excluding general references to out-of-the-body-experiences and reports of a subtle body -- remarkably divergent from the descriptions from Indian and Tibetan traditions that we met so far. But the reports that start with an account of the process of dying are said to accord well with those of near-death-experiences as investigated by Moody and others; only the barrier, the point of no return, is not mentioned by Whitton's patients. Many subjects in Whitton's regression therapy report an evaluation of the previous life in the intermediate state and most of them mention encountering a council of three, four, or seldom, seven wise and elderly men helping with this task. The previous life is visualised in the same way as was described (be it at another point) for the near-death-experiences. Many subjects also report to have consciously planned the next life, though the degree to which a life-plan was laid out differed. Some did not report any planning at all, they either rushed into a new life or simply dozed of after appearing before the council and awoke in a baby-body.
I greatly regret that the only presentation of these interesting reports available to me is presented in such an imprecise and dubious manner that it is almost rendered useless for any serious reference, but I do hope that, by nevertheless trying to present what appear to be the general conclusions of Whitton's research, I succeeded in indicating possible cultural differences in how individuals tend to imagine elusive concepts like an intermediate state. The results of Whitton's research have no direct relevance for the way a *chos ñid bar do* was conceived in India or Tibet, but combined with information from near-death-accounts and *'das log*-reports it might point out to which degree certain traditional imagery is conditioned by the cultural context in which it arose, developed and perhaps is still functioning, and which elements appear cross-culturally[329].

### 3.1.7 Theories regarding a Subtle Body

In the above sub-sections we noted that the experiences and theories regarding a state of death discussed so far, notwithstanding their many differences, have a few features in common:

quite naturally, I dare say, in all instances discussed a separation from the body is described;
more remarkable is that invariably a subtle body is mentioned;
furthermore, various, predominantly visual, experiences are described; a vision of overwhelming bright light is common;

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[329] Interesting experiments have been conducted by scientists like Leary, Metzner, and Alpert in which Americans were guided on the basis of a *Bar do thos grol*-inspired guidebook through drug-induced psychedelic experiences; the subjects were consciously instructed to experience exactly in the way described there (see Leary, et al. (1964)). I do not have any reports of results of these or similar experiments. The book published on the subject (Leary, et al. (1964)), does not present any results, neither does it refer to further literature. It presents itself as a rather trendy guide for gaining access to experiences described in some of the *Bar do thos grol*-texts by means of ingestion of certain drugs and guided imagination.

an altered sense of space and time is reported or can be deduced;
and moreover reference is made to some kind of evaluation or judgement of the past life.

I do not intent to present a cross-cultural comparison of speculations regarding death and a beyond here, nor do I wish to extend the discussion of the points listed above to a wider context than the one adduced so far. Many comparative studies and studies focusing on one particular culture or group of related cultures do already exist[330], it would not be useful for me to add some more general considerations to the already existing stock.

The descriptions of visual and auditory experiences and the evaluation or judgement vary considerably in the above samples, and seem to be strongly susceptible to culturally determined or personally conditioned influences. The reports and descriptions of a subtle body, however, show much agreement. It is regarding these allusions to a subtle body that I should like to give further references in this last sub-section of the first paragraph.

J.J. Poortman, professor of metaphysics "in the spirit of theosophy" at Leyden University from 1958-1966, published the most extensive study known to me on the vast and widely spread speculations regarding a subtle body. He tenaciously digs out evidence for his theory of hylic pluralism from all relevant testimonies in various cultures throughout history that were available to him and presents the results of his research in an edition in five volumes called "Ochêma, Geschiedenis en zin van het hylisch pluralisme"[331]. Surely an impressive achievement, but unfortunately the compilation was performed rather mechanically, he seems to have been concerned more with adducing "proof" for his thesis than with doing justice to the traditions examined. Moreover the "language" of his study is, if I may say so, hopelessly theosophical. Nevertheless his work remains unequalled in the amount of material made available to the general reader. A more concise and more objective presentation is available in a recent study of van Dongen and Gerding (1993).

Both studies[332] devote some attention to Greco-Roman literature. In the discussion of the quite sophisticated Neo-Platonist theories regarding subtle bodies some interesting facts emerge which deserve to be briefly mentioned. The matter of interest is a reference to the possibility of purification in relation with a subtle body[333]. Explicit mention of purification rituals employing a subtle body by the Neo-Platonist author Iamblichus (245-330) can be found in a study by Finamore (1985, pp.125ff.). Though the theoretical context differs greatly from speculations regarding a subtle body in *tantric Buddhist* literature, also with regard to how the (here multiple) subtle bodies were conceived of, there still are some striking similarities, one of the subtle bodies for instance, which is characterised by Iamblichus as "vehicle" (he uses both the terms

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[330] See for comparative studies amongst many others Poucha, P. (1952), Lanf (1975, esp. pp.201-228), Toynbee, et al. (1979); some studies on death-ritual among "*Bon po-s*" are e.g. Brauen (1978), Lalou (1953), Snellgrove (1967, esp. pp.116-123), Stein (1970); a study of interesting Hindu-material is extant in an old study by Abegg (1921), this material is compared to material available from *Bar do thos grol*-literature in Back (1979); many translations and studies of Egyptian literature on the dead and a beyond are available starting with the first edition by Budge (1899); a recommendable study on "the history of heaven" in the Judo-Christian traditions is to be found in McDannell and Lang (1988); a study on Greek customs concerning death can be found in Garland (1985).

[331] That is in the Dutch edition, the English translation has only four volumes, combining the first two volumes of the Dutch original in one volume.

[332] See Poortman (1958), Vol.IV(III), and van Dongen and Gerding (1993), pp.64-84.

[333] See van Dongen and Gerding (1993), pp.83f..

αὐγοειδὲς πνεῦμα and αὐγοειδὲς ὄχημα[334]) controls the functions of sense-perception and imagination[335]. This issue cannot be treated here beyond this reference, not in the last place because of a lack of expertise on my side with regard to the complex subject of Neo-Platonist philosophy. But this short reference will suffice to indicate that developments that possibly show some parallels to those witnessed in Indo-Tibetan *tantric* practices of internal or external visualisation employing a subtle mental body do also exist in classical occidental literature.

## 3.2 *Chos ñid bar do*

We shall now take a closer look at the *(kar gliṅ) źi khro* of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and examine their traditional "interpretations" a little further. In the introductory verse the deities are referred to as *loṅs spyod rdzogs sku padma'i źi khro lha*[336]. The experience of the *źi khro*-deities is, not surprisingly, relegated to the colourful and emotional level of the *sambhogakāya*, but what is more remarkable is that they are also explicitly associated with the *Padma*-family and with *Amitābha* (here *sNaṅ ba mtha' yas*). *Amitābha*, here associated with the *dharmakāya*[337], is presiding over a triad which is completed with *Padmasambhava* as the *nirmāṇakāya*-manifestation. That *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-texts are associated with *Padmasambhava* need not surprise us for a *rÑiṅ ma/ rDzogs chen-gter ma*, but the connection with the *Padma*-family and its presiding *Buddha Amitābha* needs some explanation. As indicated before[338] the fact that *Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan*, associated with the translation of *Sukhāvatī*-texts, is claimed as an earlier incarnation of *Karma gliṅ pa* might be a traditional way of suggesting *Amidist* proclivities on the side of *Karma gliṅ pa*, possibly indicating that such influences might be extant in his *gter ma-s* in the *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-cycles. The popular cults surrounding *Amitābha*, especially his role as some kind of saviour at death -- the person faithfully devoted to him can trust on being set face to face with this *Buddha* of infinite light at the moment of death[339] -- might in the course of time have become associated with practices concerning death and an after-death-state. This relation is obvious in the popular practice of *'pho ba*, which, by the way, is also referred to several times in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*[340]. Moreover, there might well be some relation between the experience of the clear light of death and the vision of the *Buddha* of infinite light at death. Even though both the practice of *'pho ba* and the *'od gsal*-experiences are obviously closely associated with forms of *Buddhist rtsa rluṅ-yoga*, there seems to have been some degree of cross-fertilisation with devotional *Amidist* thought and practice. As indicated in the third paragraph of the first section, when discussing the prayer cited in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, *Amitābha* is, apart from the points mentioned, not treated differently from the other *Tathāgata-s* here; but still, the *Tathāgata-s* are, indeed, said to appear after death and also are beseeched to lead the supplicant to their respective realms. The uttering of the name of *Amitābha* is not involved; the only and, admittedly, vague and indirect clue is contained in *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-texts, where the names of *źi khro* are invoked in

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[334] See Finamore (1985), n.54 on p.161 (ad p.144).
[335] See Finamore (1985), p.147 (see n.57).
[336] See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, l.2.
[337] See Schwieger (1978), pp.13f..
[338] In section 1.3.
[339] See *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, Wogihara (1931), p.30, *praṇidhāna* 18, translation on p.386.
[340] E.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, ll.14f. and p.8, l.15.

order to bring about purification of the person reciting these names, but this is such a general practice that it hardly carries any weight of evidence. More concrete points of influence deserve to be explored in detail, but such an investigation cannot be earried out here.
In general, reference to the *Padma*-family or *Amitābha* would indicate emphasis on devotion and compassion, which stands out especially distinct in the descriptions of the peaceful deities and the accompanying verses. The relegation of *źi khro* to the *sambhogakāya*, and the fact that release in the *chos ñid bar do* is said to amount to becoming a *Buddha* in one of the *buddha*-fields on a *sambhogakāya*-level (*... źiṅ du/ ... źiṅ khams su loṅs spyod rdzogs pa'i tshul du saṅs rgyas par 'gyur ro*[341]), indicate a quality of experience that is apparently associated with the appearance of these deities in the *chos ñid bar do*. The concrete qualities of a *sambhogakāya*-experience can be deduced from the descriptions of the deities provided in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*: they are described as very vivid, extremely elear, bright, and eolourful, having a dream-like quality[342] yet perceived while the subject is (more than) wide awake; moreover strong emotions are usually involved.
Furthermore the three main groups of deities, the peaeeful deities, the *Vidyādhara-s*, and the wrathful deities, are, as mentioned in section 1.3 and 2, associated with different areas of the body and the corresponding *cakra-s*, to wit, the *ye śes kyi 'khor lo* or *thugs kyi 'khor lo* (*Skt. jñānacakra*) in the heart, the *loṅs spyod kyi 'khor lo* (*Skt. sambhogacakra*) in the throat and the *bde chen gyi 'khor lo* (*Skt. mahāsukhacakra*) in the crown of the head suceessively. In the eourse of time a quite elaborate *tantric* theory grew around these *cakra-s*. Lauf (1975) summarises some of the material relevant to *źi khro*[343]. Since the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* hardly pays attention to this tripartition and scarcely hints towards further interpretation, I tend to believe that for this text the arrangement of the deities according to these three *cakra-s* may be interpreted in the most general terms as they are suggested by the context. The peaceful *maṇḍala*, relegated to the heart, is apparently associated with majestic sensations of emotive tranquillity. The *Vidyādhara-s* as a group do not appear to be as well defined and as elaborately described as the peaceful and wrathful *maṇḍala-s*. Mainly based on their names and descriptions, and on the fact that they appear together with large numbers of *ḍākinī-s*, we might provisionally associate them with vitality and vital energy (*prāṇa*), having a strong connotation of power, and with inspirational impulses especially as linked to speech and communication, as, for instance, in the transmission of knowledge and insight. Even though they are associated with *vāc*, they still seem to function on all three levels of body, speech and mind: movement and dance, speech and communication, and inspiration and vision. The wrathful *maṇḍala*, relegated to the brain, is apparently associated with vehement emotions of terror and desire; the experiences described seem to be pervaded by a quality of fear, aggression and irritation due to a strong sense of (intellectual) separation into subject and object. But I would rather not speculate too much on basis of the scarce evidence extant. Later texts like the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po* pay more attention to these and similar systematisations.

The *tantric* associations increase to a sheer dazzling complexity as soon as we focus on smaller groups of deities or individual deities and their attributes, especially if we make use of all sources available, including the later ones and their later

341 E.g. Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.5, ll.14f. and p.19, ll.9f..
342 Not explicit in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, an explicit reference is to be found in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, see Orofino (1985), p.117, l.24.
343 See Lauf (1975), pp.73-76, esp. the table on p.76.

"interpretations", as the impressive popularising compilations by Lauf (1975) and the even more freely conducted interpretations by Govinda (1956) may well indicate. By announcing a further interpretation of traditional associations regarding the *(kar gliṅ) źi khro-maṇḍala*, I was not stating any intention to redo the work done by Lauf, Govinda and others, nor do I intend to add available textual and historical references and further critical apparatus to all the material they gathered or to additional material that might still be added to the existing stock. This undertaking, if performed properly, would require many years of work and many volumes for publication. In this paragraph I should like to elaborate on the traditional "interpretations" indicated in the previous chapter in a more qualitative manner, that is treating the *(kar gliṅ) źi khro-maṇḍala* as a concept used in the theory of a *chos ñid bar do* rather than discussing every possible detail pertaining to the *maṇḍala* and the classifications involved. In the following I shall make use of the material presented in the first paragraph of this chapter and I will try to stay as close as possible to the way the *źi khro* are presented in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.

Important for the understanding of the *kar gliṅ źi khro* described is the part immediately preceding the exposé of their appearance, to wit, Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.16, l.7 - p.17, l.12, whieh deserves to be quoted and translated here in full:

ཀྱེ་[144] རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ་[145] ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ལུས་དང་སེམས་བྲལ་བའི་དུས་སུཿ ཆོས་ཉིད་དག་པའི་སྣང་བ་ཕྲ་ལ་དངས་པཿ[146] གསལ་ལ་ ||ང་༡༥༩|| འཚེར་བཿ[147] རང་བཞིན་བཀྲག[148]་ལ་ཉམ་ང་བཿ[149] སོས་ཀའི[150]་ཐང་ལ་སྨིག་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་བ[151]་བཞིན་དུ[152]་མེ་རེ་རེ[153]་འཆར་དུ་འོང་ངོཿ[154] དེ་ལ་མ་འཇིགས་ཤིགཿ[155] མ་སྐྲག་ཅིགཿ མ་སྣང་ས[156]་ཤིགཿ དེ་ནི་ཁྱོད་

[144] ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཀྱེ་ ང། ཀྱེ།

[145] ང། །

[146] ཁ་དང་ཅ། དྭངས་པཿ ང། དྭངས་པ།

[147] ཁ་དང་ཅ། གསལ་ལ་འཚེར་བ་ ག། གསལ་ལ་འཚེར་བཿ ང། གསལ་ལ་འཚེར་བ། ཀར་ནི་འཚེར་ནོར་འཁྲུལ་ཡིན།

[148] ཁ་ང་དང་ཅ། བཀྲག་གསལ་

[149] ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཉམས་ང་བཿ

[150] ཁ་དང་ཅ། སོས་ཁའི་ ང། སོས་ཀ་

[151] ཁ་དང་ཅ། སྨིག་རྒྱུ་ ང། མིག་རྒྱུ་

[152] དུ་ནི། ཁ་དང་ཅར་མེད།

[153] ང། མེར་རེ་

[154] ང། । །

[155] ཁ་དང་ཅ། ་

[156] ཁ། དངང་ ང་དང་ཅ། དངངས་

རང་གི་ཆོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རང་མདངས་ཡིན་པས་ངོ་ཤེས་པར་གྱིས་ཤིག༔ འོད་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་ཆོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རང་སྒྲ་དྲག[༣༥༧] ལ་ལྡིར་ཆེ་བ༔ འབྲུག་སྟོང་དུས་གཅིག་ལ་ལྡིར་བ་ཙམ་དུ་ལྡི་རི་རི[༣༥༨] འོང་ངོ༔[༣༥༩] དེ་ཡང་ཁྱོད་རང་གི་ཆོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རང་སྒྲ་ཡིན་པས་དེ་ལ་མ་འཇིགས་ཤིག༔ མ་སྐྲག་ཅིག༔[༣༦༠] མ་སྤངས[༣༦༡] ཤིག༔ ཁྱོད་ལ་བག་ཆགས་ཡིད་ཀྱི་ལུས་ཞེས[༣༦༢] སྤྲ་བ་ཞིག[༣༦༣] ཡོད་ཀྱི༔[༣༦༤] གདོས་བཅས[༣༦༥] ཤ་ཁྲག་གི་ལུས་ནི་མེད་པས[༣༦༦] སྒྲ་འོད་ཟེར་གསུམ་གང་བྱུང་ཡང༔ ཁྱོད ||ང་༣༦༠|| ལ་གནོད་པ་མི་ཡོང་སྟེ༔[༣༦༧] ཁྱོད ||ཀ་༡༧|| ལ་འཆི་རྒྱུ་མེད་དོ༔[༣༦༨] ཁྱོད་རང་གི ||ཁ་ཀ་༡༣|| རང་སྣང་དུ་ངོ་ཤེས་པ་ཆུང་བས[༣༦༩] ཆོག་གོ༔[༣༧༠] བར་དོ་ཡིན་པར་ཤེས་པར[༣༧༡] གྱིས་ཤིག༔ ཀྱེ[༣༧༢] རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ༔[༣༧༣] དེ་ལྟར[༣༧༤] རང་སྣང་དུ་ངོ་མ་ཤེས་ན༔ མི་ཡུལ་དུ་བསྒོམས་བསྒྲུབས[༣༧༥] ཅི་ལྟར[༣༧༦] བྱས་ཀྱང[༣༧༧] ད་ལྟའི་གདམས་པ[༣༧༨] འདི་

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༣༥༧ ཁ་དང་ཙ། རང་སྒྲ་སྒྲ་དག ང། རང་སྒྲ། སྒྲ་དག

༣༥༨ ཁ་དང་ཙ། དི་རི་རི

༣༥༩ ང། ། །

༣༦༠ ང། ་

༣༦༡ ཁ་ང་དང་ཙ། དངངས

༣༦༢ ཞེས་ནི། ཁ་དག་ཅར་མེད།

༣༦༣ ཞིག་ནི། ཁ་དང་ཅར། གཅིག ངར། མེད།

༣༦༤ ཁ། ཡོད་ཀྱིས༔ ཙ། ཡོད་ཀྱིས

༣༦༥ ཁ། རྡོས་བྱས ང། གདོས་བཅས ཙ། གདོས་བྱས

༣༦༦ ཁ་དང་ཙ། ༔ ང། །

༣༦༧ ཁ་དང་ཙ། ་

༣༦༨ ང། ། །

༣༦༩ ངོ་ཤེས་པ་ཆུང་བས་ནི། ཁར། ངོ་ཤེས་པ་ཀྱང་གིས ངར། ངོ་ཤེས་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས ཙར། ངོ་ཤེས་པས་ཀྱང

༣༧༠ ང། ། །

༣༧༡ ང། ངོ་ཤེས་པར

༣༧༢ ཁ་དང་ཙ། ཀྱེ ང། ཀྱེ།

༣༧༣ ཁ་དང་ཙ། ་

༣༧༤ ཁ་དང་ཙ། ད་ལྟ

༣༧༥ ཁ་ང་དང་ཙ། བསྒོམ་སྒྲུབ

༣༧༦ ཁ་ང་དང་ཙ། ཇི་ལྟར

ངང་མ་འཕྲད་ན༔ འོད་ཀྱིས་འཇིགས་སོ༔[379] སྒྲས་སྣང[380]་སོ༔ ཟེར་གྱིས་སྐྲག་གོ༔ གདམས་པའི་གནད་འདི་མ་ཤེས་ན༔[381] སྒྲ་འོད་ཟེར་གསུམ་ངོ་མི་ཤེས་པས[382]་འཁོར་བར་འཁྱམས་སོ༔[383] ||ག་༡༣|| ཀྱེ[384] རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ༔ ཞག་ཕྱེད་དང་བཞིའི་བར་དུ་བརྒྱལ་ནས་འགྲོ་སྟེ༔ བརྒྱལ་སངས་པ་དང་༔[385] ང་ལ་ཅི་བྱུང་ན[386]་སྙམ་པའི[387]་སྣང་བ་འབྱུང་བས༔[388] ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་བར་དོར་ངོ་ཤེས་པར[389]་གྱིས་ཤིག༔ དེའི་ཚེ་འཁོར་བའི་ ||ང་༣༦༡|| རུ་ལོག་ནས[390]་སྣང་བ་ཐམས་ ||ཅ་ཀ་༡༡|| ཅད་འོད་དང་སྐུར[391]་འཆར་རོ༔[392]

Venerable Sir, on the moment that your body and mind have separated, the clear light of *dharmatā*, of a pure subtlety, of brilliant clarity, of an awesome natural brightness, is going to arise, shimmering like a mirage hovering on a plain in spring. Feel no terror, no fear, no anxiety regarding it. Since it is the natural lustre of your own *dharmatā*, do recognise!

From within the light the natural sound of *dharmatā* will reverberate with the vehemence of a great rolling thunder, as much as a thousand thunderclaps rumbling at the same time. Because that, again, is the natural sound of your own *dharmatā*, feel no terror, no fear, no anxiety regarding it; since you have a so-called mental body of habitual tendencies, (that is to say,)[393] because there is no

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༣༧༧ ཁ། ཀུང་༔ ང་། ཀུང་། ཅ། ཀྱིད་༔

༣༧༨ ཁ། འདམས་པ་

༣༧༩ ང་། ། །

༣༨༠ ཁ་ང་དང་ཅ། དངངས་

༣༨༡ ཁ་དང་ཅ། ་

༣༨༢ ཁ་དང་ཅ། ངོ་མ་ཤེས་ན་ ང་། ངོ་མ་ཤེས་ནས་

༣༨༣ ཁ་དང་ཅ། འཁྱམས་སོ༔ ང་། འཁྱམ་མོ། །

༣༨༤ ཁ་དང་ཅ། ཀྱེ་ ང་། ཀྱེ།

༣༨༥ ཁ་དང་ཅ། རྒྱལ་བསངས་པ་དང་

༣༨༦ བྱུང་ན་ནི། ཁ་དང་ཅར། བྱུང་བ་ ང་། བྱུང་

༣༨༧ ཁ་དང་ཅ། མཉམ་པའི་

༣༨༨ ཁ་དང་ཅ། འབྱུང་སྟེ༔

༣༨༩ ངོ་ཤེས་པར་ནི། ངར། ཤེས་པར་

༣༩༠ ཁ་དང་ཅ། ༔

༣༩༡ ཁ་ང་དང་ཅ། སྐུ་རུ་

༣༩༢ ང་། ། །

393 Possibly, "you have ..., but because there is no ...".

> material body made of flesh and blood, whichever of the triad of sound, light and rays might have arisen, there will be no harm for you, death does not pertain to you. Simply[394] recognising them as your own conceptions is sufficient, do know that it is the *bar do*.
> Venerable Sir, in case you do not recognise them as your own conceptions, whichever meditation and practice you performed in the human realm, if you do not meet with the nature of the present instruction, you will be distressed by the light, feel anxious because of the sounds and frightened by the rays. If you do not know this essence of the instruction, not recognising the triad of sound, light and rays, you will wander in *saṃsāra*.
> Venerable Sir, coming forth after having been unconscious for a period of three and a half days, you arise from oblivion, and, when the notion "What happened to me?"[395] occurs to your mind, do recognise that you are in the *bar do*. At that time, <the division of> *saṃsāra*[396] being reversed, all mental conceptions will arise as lights and bodies.

Initially we find descriptions of visual experiences, the clear light of *dharmatā*, diversifying into sound, light and rays. The emphasis is on visual experiences, sound is said to proceed from within the light. One is reminded that one does not have a physical body of flesh and blood, but a mental body of habitual tendencies. All experiences (that is including the sense of having some kind of subtle body) are said to arise from one's own conceptions, in fact, it is put even more poignantly, the order *saṃsāra* is said to be "reversed" here, while in ordinary waking consciousness perception of, for instance, colours and physical forms conditions conceptual thinking and gives rise to concepts, in *bar do* all concepts are perceived as lights and bodily forms.
The experiences described so far match remarkably well with experiences reported in sensory or perceptual deprivation-experiments. It seems possible that experiences like those were projected into an after-death-state, maybe partly in extrapolation of experiences resulting from certain meditative practices -- which often involve some level of perceptual deprivation -- and maybe partly due to sensory and perceptual deprivation during a sick- or death-bed and the process of dying or due to the disintegration of sensory and mental faculties at the time of death, the descriptions given might thus have some basis in experience. Whether these experiences are actually taking place after death or whether they are only perceived as such remains, of course, open to debate. We should take into account that under circumstances like those outlined above the subject might suffer from an altered and, in a conventional sense, unreliable notion of space and time and would, if he is at all able to, report accordingly.
Immediately following this, the descriptions of the peaceful deities start, followed by several other descriptions. Texts in traditions that are probably based on the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*[397], like e.g., the *Źi ba bar do lam gyi mtshan ñid*, the *Bar do spyi'i don* and Sogyal Rinpoche's recent exposition (1992), feature a more systematic enumeration in four stages. It is interesting to note that the elaborate description of the peaceful deities in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is so dominant in the description that different "stages" do not stand out at all in this version (there is, as mentioned in a

[394] Read: *rkyaṅ pas*.
[395] The particle *na* is, regarding the other readings, apparently redundant here.
[396] I do not understand the expression *'khor ba'i ru*, *ru* is provisionally translated as "division".
[397] See section 1.3.

previous paragraph[398], not a one to one match in the experiences listed nor is the order of their appearance fully corresponding; at the beginning of the *khro bo'i bar do* the *ži ba'i bar do* is referred to as being composed of seven stages[399]). Moreover the *Vidyādhara-s* and wrathful deities appear in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* after descriptions of experiences that roughly correspond to the last two of the above-mentioned four stages, that is to say, in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* these two *maṇḍala-s* are separated from the "stage" in which the peaceful deities appear and which corresponds to the stage wherein, for instance, in the *Bar do'i spyi'i don*, the whole *ži khro-maṇḍala* appears (i.e. the second stage, the wrathful deities appear first, no *maṇḍala* of *Vidyādhara-s* is mentioned[400]).

This seems to affirm the impression with which we left the discussion in section 1.3 of affiliation between texts like the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* on the one hand and texts like the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* and the *Bar do'i spyi'i don* on the other, though some material is shared they appear as discrete traditions that developed more or less separately. The *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* cannot be explained as a *Ñi zla kha sbyor* that was extended with elaborate descriptions of the three main *maṇḍala-s* of deities, there are too many discrepancies between the texts, while certain aspects (the several stages) seem to be treated in a more systematic manner in the *Ñi zla kha sbyor*, which makes a borrowing even more unlikely. However, the point of interest here is not so much the possible relation between these texts, but the fact that in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* the *maṇḍala-s* of the peaceful deities, of the *Vidyādhara-s*, and of the wrathful deities appear like outgrowths in the middle of as well as after this series of experiences thus giving the whole a rather hydrocephalic outlook, breaking and distorting their arrangement as some kind of a sequence, as these events apparently were conceived of as taking place in several (i.e. seven) stages.

The *kar glin ži khro* as a visionary experience do not convey their universal character in any convincing manner, occasionally not even to a scholar from within the traditions they pertain to, like *rTse le rin po che*, let alone to opponents of the *rÑiṅ ma* and *rDzogs chen*-traditions. I certainly do not want to rule out the possibility that an adept very much conversant with the *kar gliṅ ži khro-maṇḍala* might under certain conditions reproduce the visual experiences he was trained to evoke, but most probably the elaborate descriptions of deities largely represent an insertion of *tantric* theory within the framework of a *chos ñid bar do*; thus leaving us with a reference to *tantric* theory and related practices relevant or important at the time of conception of the *chos ñid bar do* in this form, in short with a signature of the author(s).

But however much this autograph is appreciated, the point I am trying to make here is that contrary to some experiences in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, like for instance the experiences of light and sound translated above, I would not advise to try and interpret the description of the *ži khro-maṇḍala* as a probable experience certainly not for an uninitiated subject (quite contrary to the efforts of Leary et al. (1964)). The descriptions of the *kar gliṅ ži khro* though based on visualisation-practice are highly theoretical in nature. The order of appearance of the deities and their corresponding categories, for instance, need not necessarily represent a sequence probable from the point of view of "lived" visionary experience. The order of appearance, the lay-out of the *maṇḍala*, and the filling in of details were very much subject to the conventions

[398] See section 1.3.

[399] See Kalsang Lhundup (1969), p.43, ll.8f..

[400] Sogyal Rinpoche (1992) apparently tries to harmonise the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* and the *Bar do'i spyi'i don* in this respect, he refers to a description like in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* but includes the wrathful deities (after the peaceful *maṇḍala*) while leaving out the *Vidyādhara-s*.

used at that time in the traditions involved. If we want to understand or interpret the order, lay-out, or the iconographical details of the *maṇḍala* we need to rely on traditional "interpretations" in the relevant lines of transmission, like for instance gathered by, amongst others, Lauf (1975) and Govinda (1956), Snellgrove (1957). But we should be careful not to neglect the factor time. An interpretation adhered to by a present-day *bla ma* or another representative of tradition (even if representing the exact tradition(s) the *maṇḍala* pertains to) might not accurately cover the state of knowledge of centuries ago. Studies like for instance Lauf (1975) and Govinda (1956) definitely fall short on this point. Snellgrove (1957 and 1987) proves himself to be more sensitive to the historical dimension. As mentioned before I do not have the intention to investigate these points here, this is not an iconographical study, nor a study about (developments in) *maṇḍala*-theory nor even a survey of *źi khro-maṇḍala-s*.

Recapitulating we may say that certain experiences of (textures of) light, colour, sound etc., might under specific conditions actually have been and still be perceived and might even have some universality, in that people from other cultures under similar conditions are liable to perceive them in a like manner. In the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* these experiences became the insertion points for elaborate descriptions of *maṇḍala-s* of peaceful and wrathful deities, the *kar gliṅ źi khro*, which seem to be a theoretical construction stemming from *tantric* esoteric theory, which can best be understood by following the explicit and implicit leads and "interpretations" offered in the relevant traditions themselves, as for instance briefly presented in the second chapter of this thesis, and which are as such more or less specific to these and related traditions.

The reason for the insertion of these elaborate descriptions of the *maṇḍala-s* probably lies in the need for "explaining" a (re)arising of perception and, which very much amounts to the same thing, the development of a subtle mental body after disintegration at death, briefly discussed in the previous chapter.

As also mentioned in the previous chapter we have to consider the possibility that certain psycho-physical phenomena could not be expressed otherwise than in *rtsa rluṅ*-terms or in "iconographical" visualisation-based concepts. The reason why the descriptions at a certain point in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, i.e. when trying to give a more detailed account of the arising of the several mental faculties in a *chos ñid bar do*, switch from *rtsa rluṅ*-based terminology to iconographical concepts might be very simple and straightforward, an iconographical description is better suited for quantitative detail, that is to say, is able to convey the several specific and concrete details of the mental faculties, while *rtsa rluṅ*-based terminology is better fitted to describe the qualitative aspects, the general psycho-physical processes.

# 4 Conclusion

Regarding the overwhelming amount of material on *bar do-s* and *źi khro* available (see Appendix I), this study cannot be but exploratory in character. Only the smallest number of the texts located and gathered so far has actually been used in this thesis, and even these "select few" often have only been as much as touched upon; many of them do inspire to be revisited for more detailed research. I have tried my very best to select the most relevant material from what is at present available to me, but I can by no means guarantee that important texts have not escaped my attention nor that important passages have not been overlooked by me, the more so, since Tibetan texts do not always bear predictable titles and often appear "concealed" as parts of larger works. Still, I dare hope that this study, in spite of its limitations, will prove to be of help to those interested in literature concerning *bar do-s* and *źi khro* and in the "old *tantra-s*" and *gter ma*-literature in general and will possibly inspire more detailed studies in the field. Many points for further research have already been indicated in the course of this thesis, one suggestion that I should particularly like to forward here is a compilation and comparison of different *źi khro-maṇḍala-s* in *Buddhist* and Hindu *tantra-s* as well as in "*Bon*"-texts, in order to establish lines of transmission and influence between texts an authors in these several traditions; *maṇḍala-s* seem to be a good indicator of affiliation.
In conclusion, in this chapter, I should like to briefly review the most important conclusions and hypotheses that resulted from this research into the *źi khro* of *Karma gliṅ pa*, however tentative some of them may be.

Texts pertaining to older *Buddhism* do not seem to be of much relevance to us here. The material is rather scarce, does not seem to be very old and moreover the picture of an *antarābhava* presented is far from complete, since most of the earlier material available reflects positions of those opposed to this concept. Most of the positive evidence of an *antarābhava* appears in later works, like the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, the *Abhidharmakośa* and *Bhāṣya*, and the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*. The picture of an *antarābhava* that emerges, for instance from the *Abhidharmakośa* and *Bhāṣya*, has many features in common with later descriptions of a *srid pa'i bar do*, as for instance extant in *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-cycles. The opinion that there is a substantial relation between an *antarāparinibbāyin* and an *antarābhava*, as apparently maintained in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, does seem to be a later construction.
Points of interest that need to be worked on are a possible relation between certain interpretations of the so-called *antarāparinirvāyin* and *Amidist* trends in *Buddhism*. The exact relation between the first members of some *pratītyasamutpāda*-versions, to wit *avidyā* and *saṃskāra-s*, and speculations concerning an intermediate state between death and rebirth, too, seem worth-while to be investigated more thoroughly. Another interesting matter that definitely deserves more research is the position of *vijñāna* in death, rebirth and possibly in an intermediate state. Especially the reconciliation of the impermanent *skandha vijñāna* with the *gandharva*-like concept of *vijñāna* that apparently was conceived of as continuing through death in some way or other, needs to be studied in a historical context. It would be very revealing to have an overview of the several theories concerning this in older *Buddhism*, *abhidharma*-texts, *Yogācāra*-traditions, and diverse traditions and schools in later Indian *tantric* and Tibetan *tantric Buddhism*.

In *tantric Buddhism* speculations regarding *bar do-s* start to proliferate, especially in Tibetan *rÑiṅ ma (rDzogs chen-)*( and "*Bon*"-(*rDzogs chen-*))traditions, but also in *bKa' rgyud pa*-traditions, theories and practices regarding them apparently have been received and developed with great enthusiasm. Several more or less distinct strands of *bar do*-speculations seem to exist. Though a *'chi kha'i bar do* (or an equivalent, the nomenclature is not always consistent or at all extant) and a *srid pa'i bar do* do appear in all traditions and texts, a *chos ñid bar do* appears to be a late development, not present in all of them. The *(bKa' rgyud pa-)siddha-s*, for instance, do not distinguish a *chos ñid bar do* (notwithstanding the reference to a *chos ñid bar do* in one of *Nā ro pa's* biographies, which does not seem to pertain to a separate *bar do* there). The *Bar do lṅa'i ṅo sprod* from the *Ka dag raṅ 'byuṅ raṅ śar*-cycle does not mention a *chos ñid bar do* either.
The *(bKa' rgyud pa-)siddha-s* seem to represent a separate strand, they do not discuss a *chos ñid bar do* and are very much focusing on *rtsa rluṅ-yoga*. *rDzogs chen*-texts like the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* and dependants (the *Źi ba bar do lam gyi mtshan ñid* in the (*mKha' 'gro yaṅ thig* of the) *sÑiṅ thig ya bźi*, the *Bar do spyi'i don*, and later presentations like Sogyal Rinpoche (1992)) represent another line; they feature a *chos ñid bar do*, mention a *źi khro-maṇḍala*, but do not spell it out completely, they rather focus on general experiences of luminosity. The *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* is the main source of yet another strand of speculation featuring a *chos ñid bar do* including a full description of the *(kar gliṅ) źi khro*. It apparently shares some (souree-)material with the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* but on the whole appears as a different and independent strand; the identification of the shared sources requires more research. The *gSaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs daṅ pho ba'i man ṅag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs* is direetly derived (largely by copying) from the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*. The late *'ja' tshon źi khro* as extant in for instance the *Źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po* seem to be adapted from the *kar gliṅ źi khro*.
The "*Bon*"-*rDzogs chen*-text *rDzogs pa chen po źaṅ źuṅ sñan rgyud las sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*, has some points of similarity with the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* but does not as mueh as mention a *źi khro-maṇḍala*, here deseriptions of experiences of luminosity are dominant. The "*Bon*"-*źi khro*-texts, the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol chen mo* and *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi thos grol las byaṅ bag chags raṅ grol* do feature a *źi khro-maṇḍala*, but one that diverges strongly from the *kar gliṅ źi khro*, showing only a few more general similarities. The rest of these two almost identical "*Bon*"-*bar do thos grol*-texts, too, stands out rather distinctly from the other material mentioned, with the sole and remarkable exception of a prayer for rescue that they in part share with the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* (and the *Bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam*). A possible origin of the prayer shared in *Amidist* literature inspires further investigation.
If it is true that the *Ñi zla kha sbyor* on the one hand and the *sÑan rgyud bar do thos grol* (and *Źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol*) on the other hand do share sources with the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, then the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, for which an eighth-century-origin is claimed, but for which only a fourteenth-century-provenanee ean be attested, would consequently have sources predating these texts.

The *kar gliṅ źi khro* which appear in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* probably derive from *źi khro* extant in the *Guhyagarbha*-cycle. But the *kar gliṅ źi khro-* and *gSaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po-maṇḍala-s* are not identical, and some development seems to have taken place. Intermediate stages can be reeonstrueted from the several *maṇḍala-s* present in *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-texts and related literature. It does seem likely that the elosest relative, read: ancestor, of the *kar gliṅ źi khro*, was probably similar to a *maṇḍala* as it

is still extant in, for instance, the *Źi khro sgyu 'phrul*, and was at some time adapted from one of this class of confession- and purification-texts and inserted into the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.
The class of *Na rag doṅ sprug(s)*-texts might be influenced by confession- and expiation-*tantra-s* from the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*-cycle, a relation which needs further investigation.

The *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* appears to be a composite text that shows many signs of editing and probably incorporates material from various sources, some of which it shares with other, related texts, the shared sources most probably were incorporated independently by the several texts. There is some evidence of influences from *Mahāyoga-*, *Anuyoga-* and *rDzogs chen*-theory and practice. The identification of the sources from which these doctrines and practices were incorporated requires further research. Several independent pieces of evidence suggest that the *(kar gliṅ) źi khro-maṇḍala* was at some time inserted at a point in theory where general experiences of luminosity (which in some form or other appear in all *chos ñid bar do*-texts) are described. The arising of the *maṇḍala* no doubt refers to the re-arising/emerging of all the sensory and other mental faculties as well as mental attitudes and dispositions, a process which we also find briefly described as the formation of a mental body of habitual tendencies. The reason for an elaboration on this point most probably lies in the fact that the functionality of at least the *skandha vijñāna* was thought to be required in order to enable any experience of or in a *bar do*, while this very *skandha vijñāna* at the same time was involved in an unsatisfactory conflux of theories. First there was the theory concerning some kind of "dissolution" of the *skandha-s* of a person at death, the conventional person was generally conceived of as a mere temporary agglomeration of *skandha-s* that were characterised as, amongst others, impermanent, but there also was a notion of continuity through death (and an intermediate state) that adhered to one of these *skandha-s*, to wit, *vijñāna*. In short, the reason might lie in the awkward double-rôle of *vijñāna*, wearing two rather different hats, as at death and in an intermediate state it at the same time appears as a factor of transience and continuity.
The fact that, when inserting the *maṇḍala*, *Mahāyoga*-based language is used in a context in which *rtsa rluṅ*-terminology seems to dominate, has most probably its cause in the capability of "deity-*yoga*" to represent a sophisticated level of quantitative detail. The combination of "deity-*yoga*" and *rtsa rluṅ-yoga* moreover suggests an affinity with practices that developed in *Anuyoga*, in which these two forms of *yoga* appear in conjunction (the last being more in focus in this *yāna*). This last indication presents another clue for further identification of the character and global dates of the sources drawn upon.

Traditional "interpretations" quite unanimously point towards interpreting the several deities as diverse aspects of what is conventionally and no doubt rather imprecisely conceived of as the (human) "mind", the sum of all mental processes and possibilities. But there is little probability that the description of the *maṇḍala* in that very form and order can be considered as a report of actual experiences of these (mainly) mental factors. The *kar gliṅ źi khro* rather seem to be an idealised summary of *tantric* theory and expertise in this field, which of course, since this expertise will at least partly be based on experiences gained from certain *tantric* visualisation-practices, may still have a basis in reported experiences of some sort.

The general references to experiences of (patterns of) light and colour, however, do have parallels in actual reports from other fields of research and other cultures, some of which, like for instance those that result from deprivation-experiments, make the possibility of an actual experience of these abstract patterns of light and colour (at some point, not necessarily after death) seem quite acceptable.
Though the reports pertaining to a *chos ñid bar do* in, for instance, the *'das log*-stories in a biography of *Saṅs rgyas chos 'dzom*[401] have several features in common with descriptions in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*, the actual overlap is rather poor, the order of appearance of the *maṇḍala-s* mentioned in these reports moreover agrees better with the order in the *Bar do spyi'i don* than with that in the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs*.
Parallel accounts obtained from people in the "West" that reported a near-death-experience (most research seems to have been conducted in the United States of America) and obtained by guiding the imagination of, again, mainly American subjects in hypnotic regression to a purported period between two consecutive lives are remarkably consistent among themselves and with each other, but, even though some common features do emerge (like references to experiences of light and some kind of a subtle body), on the whole do show little similarity to the descriptions of the *Chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs* or reports of *'das log-s*.

[401] The *rJe btsun spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pa 'das log saṅs rgyas chos 'dzom gyis źag bdun mar dmyal khams daṅ yar źiṅ khams bcas mjal ba'i lo rgyus rnam thar khyad par can*.



**A *maṇḍala* of peaceful and wrathful deities** (Tibet, nineteenth century AD)

## Appendix I, Bibliographies of Tibetan Texts on *Źi khro* and *Bar (ma) do*

### Contents of Appendix I

**Reference-Numbers Used in Tibetan Sources on *Źi khro* and *Bar do***

I[402] *Bar do'i thos grol*, The Tibetan Book of the Dead, by the Great Acharya Shri Sing-ha, Varanasi 1969.

II *Bar do thos grol*, a block-print of Lama Sherab Gyaltsen Amipa in Rikon/ZH, identical with the block-print of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project.

III *Zab chos źi khro dgoṅs pa raṅ grol las sku gsum bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi gsol 'debs dug gsum spaṅ raṅ grol*, a block-print from India, o.O. and o.J..

IV *Źi khro dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi chos skor*, a collection of *gter ma* of *Kar ma gliṅ pa*, 2 volumes, o.O. and o.J..

V *Bar do thos grol*, a block-print from Ngari (in Bonn), identical with *Bar do thos grol* VOHD XI,7; Nr.421.10; sign.: Libr. tibet.128, the block-print in the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin".

VI *Zab chos źi khro dgoṅs pa raṅ grol las bar do thos grol gyi skor*, a reduced reprint from an Indian block-print, o.O. and o.J..

VII *Kar ma gliṅ pa'i źi khro dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi chos skor*. A Collection of *Źi khro* Texts Revealed by *gter ston Kar ma gliṅ pa*, 3 volumes, reproduced from a manuscript-collection from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche, Gangtok 1975.

VIII List of a *Bar do thos grol*-collection by Campbell in Evans-Wentz and Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup, The Tibetan Book of the Dead or the After-Death Experiences on the Bardo Plane, London 1960 (1927).

IX *Bar do thos grol*, a photocopy of a MS. in the India Office Library (in Bonn), Lhasa K25 I-IV, Denwood Nr.520.

X Three incomplete *Bar do'i thos grol chen mo*-cycles (of the same printing-blocks) in the J. v. Manen-collection, in the library of the Kern Institute Leiden, the 2740/H-series is listed under the abbreviated registration numbers (2740/H# in the catalogue by Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1953)).

XI Recent block-print of a *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-cycle containing twelve texts (ten titles) kept at the Kern Institute in Leiden (systematic catalogue 28.452.4 = XL.1237, title-page different)

XII Recent Chinese edition of a block-print of a *Kar gliṅ źi khro*-eycle containing forty-seven texts (private copy); *si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khaṅ gis bskrun nas bkraml si khron can yi'u par 'debs bzo grvas dpar*), ISBN7-5409-0259-0/B.9.

XIII Miscellaneous *Źi khro dgoṅs pa raṅ grol*-block-prints in the J. v. Manen-collection, in the library of the Kern Institute Leiden, in contradistinction to X listed under the list-numbers (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1953).

XIV Several *Źi khro dgoṅs pa raṅ grol*-cycles and texts in XL.1232-1236, and 1238.

XV *Źi khro dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi chos skor*, volumes II and III in XL.1239-1240.

XX Miscellaneous texts from the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* (edited by Suzuki, D.T., (1956), The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, Tokyo/Kyoto 1956).

XXI Miscellaneous texts from the *rÑiṅ ma'i rgyud 'bum* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).

XXII Miscellaneous texts from the *Bai ro rgyud 'bum* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).

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[402] Numbers I-IX adapted from Back (1987), pp.103-113.

XXIII Miscellaneous texts from the *sÑiṅ thig ya bźi* by *Kloṅ chen pa dri med 'od zer* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).

XXIV Block-prints in the cycle *Kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal*, the microfilms of which are preserved in the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin" listed under the abbreviated catalogue-number (Nr.# in the catalogue by Shuh et al. (1985)), also in XL.2116-2120.

XXV Block-prints in the cyele *Ka dag raṅ 'byuṅ raṅ śar*, the mierofilms of which are preserved in the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin" listed under the abbreviated catalogue-number (Nr.# in the catalogue by Shuh et al. (1985)), also in XL.2116-2120.

XXVI Block-prints in the cycle *mKha' 'gro gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi rgyud*, the microfilms of which are preserved in the "Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin" listed under the abbreviated catalogue-number (Nr.# in the catalogue by Shuh et al. (1985)). This *gter ma*-cycle is extant in the library of the Kern Institute in Leiden (no systematic catalogue-number), it is a xylographic reprint of block-prints from the library of Dudjom Rinpoche.

XXVII Miscellaneous texts from the *gTer 'byuṅ chen mo* by *Ratna gliṅ pa (Rin chen dpal bzaṅ po)* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the microfiche-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).

XXVIII Miscellaneous texts from the *gDams ṅag mdzod* by *Koṅ sprul blo gros mtha' yas* in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the entry-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983).

XXIX The *Rin chen gter mdzod* by *Koṅ sprul blo gros mtha' yas*, Thimpu-edition (xylographic reprint) by Dilgo Khyentse in Paris, older xylographic edition in London (SOAS), block-prints in Kolmaš, J. (1971), Vol.II. References to systematic library-numbers as in Kolmaš, J. (1971) based on the *dPal spuṅs*-prints, Wiesbaden (1971); bracketed chapter and page-indications as in the IASWR-microfiche-edition of the *mKhyen brtse*-edition based on the *sTod luṅ mtshur phu*-redaction supplemented with texts from the *dPal spuṅs*-redaction and other manuscripts.

XL Miscellancous texts in the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, indicated by the entry-number of the catalogue by Tachikawa (1983 & 1988).

XLI Miscellaneous texts in the J. v. Manen-collection, in the library of the Kern Institute Leiden, in contradistinction to X listed under the list-numbers (Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1953)).

XLII Miscellaneous texts referred to in D.I. Lauf, Geheimlehren tibetischer Totenbücher, Jenseitswelten und Wandlung nach dem Tode, ein west-östlicher Vergleich mit psychologischem Kommentar, Freiburg 1977 (1975), chapter VIII.1.A, pp.269f..

N.B. the often recurring introductory formula: *(zab chos) (źi khro) dgoṅs pa raṅ grol (las/gyi/gyis)*[403] and the concluding: *(ces/ źes bya ba) bźugs so/ bźugso/ bźugs sho* are omitted! Regarding the complex nature of the Tibetan titles, capitals are not used in the transliterated titles.

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403 Indicated by an "*" preceding the source-indication; I could not check collections VII, VIII, and XIV, for easy reference I have nonetheless marked those texts where the formula is to be expected with an asterisk.

## *Kar gliṅ Źi khro*

| Title | Collection | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kar gliṅ źi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sñiṅ po dril ba | kar gliṅ źi khro | XII.34 | not yet known | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| kar gliṅ źi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sñiṅ por dril ba | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1236 | not yet known | yes | blocks in dGoṅ steṅ bśad sgrub chos gliṅ in Solu, Nepal |
| sku gsum bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi gsol 'debs dug gsum ma spaṅ raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | I.1 | 14th AD or later? | yes | other editions in XIV.1234-1238 |
| bskyed rim lhan thabs 'dzab dgoṅs grags stoṅ tshaṅs dbyaṅs bzlas raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1237 | 14th AD or later? | yes | blocks in Jo khaṅ ri khrod of the bDen goṅ in Gangtok |
| brgya phyag sdig sgrib raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1234 | 14th AD or later? | yes | |
| brgya phyag sdig sgrib raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | kar gliṅ źi khro | XII.18 | 14th AD or later? | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| brgya phyag sdig sgrib raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1235 | 14th AD or later? | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| brgya phyag sdig sgrib raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1236 | 14th AD or later? | yes | blocks in dGoṅ steṅ bśad sgrub chos gliṅ in Solu, Nepal |
| brgya phyag sdig sgrib raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1238 | 14th AD or later? | yes | blocks in 'Ba' ñag House in Gangtok |
| brgya phyag sdig sgrib raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lags | kar gliṅ źi khro | I.6 | 14th AD or later? | yes | |

| Title | Collection | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| brgya phyag sdig sgrib raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lags | kar gliṅ źi khro | XI.1 | 14th AD or later? | yes | identical with XIV.1237 |
| brgya phyag sdig sgrib raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lags | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1237 | 14th AD or later? | no | identical with XI.1, blocks in Jo khaṅ ri khrod of the bDen goṅ in Gangtok |
| brgya phyag bsdus pa'i dbu phyogs | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1236 | not yet known | yes | bloeks in dGoṅ steṅ bśad sgrub chos gliṅ in Solu, Nepal |
| cho ga sdig sgrib rnam par sbyoṅ ba | rin chen gter mdzod chen mo, kar gliṅ źi khro | XXIX.4.189-281 | not yet known | yes | |
| chos ñid bar do'i khrid yig mthoṅ ba raṅ grol gyi ṅo sprod car phog khyer bde ba źig | rin chen gter mdzod chen mo, kar glin źi khro | XXIX.4.147-187 | not yet known | yes | |
| chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | kar gliṅ źi khro | I.2 | 14th AD or later? | yes | |
| chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | kar gliṅ źi khro | X.12.2 | 14th AD or later? | yes | identical with X.19.2 and X.187.2 |
| chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol ehen mo | kar gliṅ źi khro | X.187.2 | 14th AD or later? | yes | identieal with X.12.2 and X.19.2 |
| chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | kar gliṅ źi khro | X.19.2 | 14th AD or later? | yes | identical with X.12.2 and X.187.2 |
| chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | kar gliṅ źi khro | XI.10 | 14th AD or later? | yes | identical with XL.1237, title-page different |
| chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1237 | 14th AD or later? | no | identical with XI.10, title-page different, blocks in Jo khaṅ ri khrod of the bDen goṅ in Gangtok |
| chos ñid bar do'i gsol 'debs thos grol ehen mo | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1233 | 14th AD or later? | no | blocks in Gemur Monastery in Gar źwa |
| chos spyod bag ehags raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | X.187.7 | 14th AD or later? | yes | identical with X.19.6 |

| Title | Collection | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | X.19.6 | 14th AD or later? | yes | identical with X.187.7 |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XII.3 | 14th AD or later? | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIII.662 | 14th AD or later? | yes | |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1232 | 14th AD or later? | yes | blocks in G-yuṅ druṅ Monastery |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1233 | 14th AD or later? | yes | blocks in Gemur Monastery in Gar źwa |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1235 | 14th AD or later? | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XLI.663.Br.79/H230 | 14th AD or later? | yes | identical with XIII.663.Br.79/H261 |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XLI.663.Br.79/H261 | 14th AD or later? | yes | identical with XIII.663.Br.79/H230 |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | kar gliṅ źi khro | I.7 | 14th AD or later? | yes | |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | kar gliṅ źi khro | XI.8 | 14th AD or later? | no | identical with XIV.1237 |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1234 | 14th AD or later? | yes | |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1236 | 14th AD or later? | yes | blocks in dGoṅ steṅ bśad sgrub chos gliṅ in Solu, Nepal |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1237 | 14th AD or later? | yes | identical with XI.8, blocks in Jo khaṅ ri khrod of the bDen goṅ in Gangtok |
| chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1238 | 14th AD or later? | yes | blocks in 'Ba' ṅag House in Gangtok |

| Title | Collection | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'chi ltas mtshan ma raṅ grol legs par (bźugs so) | kar gliṅ źi khro | I.9 | 14th AD or later? | yes | other editions in X.12.9,=187.9, XI.4=XIV.1237, XIV.1233,1237=XI.4 |
| 'chi bslu zab mo | kar gliṅ źi khro, rdzogs pa chen po'i lo rgyus mdo byaṅ po ti smug ehuṅ | I.10 | not yet known | yes | other editions in XI.3, =XIV.1237?, v. also X.12.14,=187.14, XIV.1233 |
| ñams ehag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | kar gliṅ źi khro | XII.24 | 12th AD | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript, Ñaṅ ral ñi ma 'od zer (short) version |
| ñams chag sdig sgrib thams ead bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprugs | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1236 | 12th AD (core) | yes | bloeks in dGoṅ steṅ bśad sgrub chos gliṅ in Solu, Nepal, extended version |
| btags grol phuṅ po raṅ grol gyi don bsdus raṅ grol sñiṅ po | kar gliṅ źi khro | I.5 | 14th AD or later? | yes | other editions in XI.6=XIV.1237, XIV.1234, 1236,1237=XI.6, v. also XIV.1233 |
| źi khro 'dus pa'i las byaṅ rtsal 'phreṅ tshor ba raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XII.6 | not yet known | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| źi khro 'dus pa'i las byaṅ rtsar 'phreṅ tshor ba raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1235 | not yet known | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| źi khro 'dus pa'i las byaṅ rtsar 'phreṅ tshor ba raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1236 | not yet known | yes | blocks in dGoṅ steṅ bśad sgrub chos gliṅ in Solu, Nepal |
| źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | X.12.15 | 14th AD or later? | yes | |
| źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XI.2 | 14th AD or later? | yes | |
| źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XII.23 | 14th AD or later? | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIII.665 | 14th AD or later? | yes | |
| źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1233 | 14th AD or later? | yes | blocks in Gemur Monastery in Gar źwa |

| Title | Collection | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1236 | 14th AD or later? | yes | blocks in dGoṅ steṅ bśad sgrub chos gliṅ in Solu, Nepal |
| źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1237 | 14th AD or later? | no | identical with XI.2, blocks in Jo khaṅ ri khrod of the bDen goṅ in Gangtok |
| źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1238 | 14th AD or later? | yes | identical with XIV.1237, blocks in 'Ba' ñag House in Gangtok |
| źi khro'i kloṅ bśags ñams chag raṅ grol gyi cha rkyen gyi bskaṅ bsdus | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1234 | 14th AD or later? | yes | |
| źi khro'i sgo nas phuṅ po sreg sbyoṅ bya ba'i lag len | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1234 | not yet known | yes | |
| źi khro'i mdun bskyed śin tu bsdus pa snod bcud raṅ grol | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1234 | not yet known | yes | |
| rigs drug gnas 'dreu | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1234 | not yet known | yes | |
| rigs drug gnas 'dren | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1236 | not yet known | yes | blocks in dGoṅ steṅ bśad sgrub chos gliṅ in Solu, Nepal |
| rigs drug gnas 'dren ñuṅ bsdus sgrigs chags | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1235 | not yet known | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| rigs drug gnas 'dren bsdus pa | kar gliṅ źi khro | XII.42 | not yet known | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| las byaṅ bsdus pa | kar gliṅ źi khro | XIV.1235 | not yet known | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| saṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa' rnams ra mda ' spraṅ pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa raṅ grol daṅ bar do'i rtsa tshig daṅ bar do 'phraṅ grol daṅ bar do 'jigs skyobs ma bcas | kar gliṅ źi khro | I.4 | 14th AD or later? | yes | v. also X.12.3,19.3,187.3, XI.9, bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi smon lam also in XII.47, XIV.1233-1237 |
| srid pa bar do'i ṅo sprod gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | kar gliṅ źi khro | I.3 | 14th AD or later? | yes | other editions in XI.5, =XIV.1237, v. also X.12.6, XIV.1233 |

## *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*

| Title | Author (Date) | Collection | Compiler (Date) | Code Text/Fiche | Date Composition | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dkyil 'khor spyi'i rim pa | Surabhadra | bstan 'gyur | Dharmaśrībhadra and Rig pa gźon nu translators | PTT.76.284.1.6-291.3.1 | not yet known | |
| rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i 'grel pa | sGegs pa rdo rje (Līlavajra) | bstan 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.82.248.1.5-279.4.7 | 10th-12th AD? | |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba | not yet known | bka' 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.7.198.4.2-7 | not yet known | identical with PTT.11.(638) |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba źes bya ba'i cho ga'i bya ba mdor bsdus pa | Kun dga' sñiṅ po (Ānandagarbha) | bstan 'gyur | Anantaparahita | PTT.77.27.1.5-29.5.1 | 12th AD? | |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po brtags pa snaṅ ba'i rgyan | Suvidyākaravarman and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan | bstan 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.76.202.1.3-237.1.1 | not yet known | |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa | Kun dga' sñiṅ po (Ānandagarbha) | bstan 'gyur | Buddhaśrīśānti and Rin chen bzaṅ po translators | PTT.77.6.5.3-12.5.1 | 08th AD? | |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa | Saṅs rgyas gsaṅ ba (Buddhaguhya) | bstan 'gyur | Saṅs rgyas gsaṅ ba, Mañjuśrīvarman, and Bran ka Mu ti translators | PTT.77.12.5.1-16.5.5 | 08th AD? | |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor chen po'i sgrub thabs | Kun dga' sñiṅ po (Ānandagarbha) | bstan 'gyur | Smṛtijñānakīrti | PTT.76.291.3.1-297.2.5 | 12th AD? | |

| Title | Author (Date) | Collection | Compiler (Date) | Code Text/Fiche | Date Composition | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga | Dharmakīrti | bstan 'gyur | Ārya Dharmapāla and dGe ba'i blo gros translators | PTT.77.16.5.5-27.1.5 | 11th AD? | |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba 'gro ba rigs drug gi cho ga | 'Jam dpal bśes gñen (Mañjuśrīmitra) | bstan 'gyur | Suvajra and Chos kyi śes rab translators | PTT.75.139.5.1-140.2.4 | 08th AD? | |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i don gyi 'bru 'grel | gSaṅs rgyas gsaṅ ba (Buddhaguhya) | bstan 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.76.15.3.2-52.2.7 | 08th AD? | |
| ṅan soṅ las sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs | Grags pa rgyal mtshan | bstan 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.81.4.1.4-4.2.5 | not yet known | |
| bcom ldan 'das de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i mam par bśad mdzes pa'i rgyan | rDo rje go cha (Vajravarman) | bstan 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.76.105.1.1-202.1.3 | not yet known | |
| chos drug gi man ṅag | Tilli pa (Tailapāda) | bstan 'gyur | Nāro pa and Chos kyi blo gros translators | PTT.82.34.4.2-35.1.1 | 10th-11th AD | |
| chos drug rdo rje tshig rkaṅ | not yet known | bstan 'gyur | Ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro ma and Glaṅ darma blo gros translators, revised by Rin chen bzan po | PTT.82.37.1.1-5.6 | 10th-11th AD | extant |
| thabs lam gtum mo sgom pa | Ye śes mkha' 'gro | bstan 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.82.60.4.6-5.5 | not yet known | |
| de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba'i brtag pa'i bśad pa | Saṅs rgyas kun dga' sñiṅ po (Buddhānandagarbha) | bstan 'gyur | Kumārakalaśa and Khuṅpo cbos brtson translators | PTT.76.202.1.3-237.1.1 | not yet known | |

| Title | Author (Date) | Collection | Compiler (Date) | Code Text/Fiche | Date Composition | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams ead yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i rtog pa | not yet known | bka' 'gyur | Śāntigarbha and Jaya-rakṣita translators, revised by Rin chen mchog | PTT.5.83.2.1-99.5.2 | not yet known | |
| de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs sn sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i brtog pa phyogs gcig pa | not yet known | bka' 'gyur | Devendradeva, Māṇika-śrījñāna, and Chos rje dpal tr anslators | PTT.5.99.5.2-121.5.4 | not yet known | |
| dpal ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga thugs rje'i 'phreṅ ba | Kun dga' sñiṅ po (Ānandagarbha) | bstan 'gyur | Kireṇākaravara and Khyuṅgrags translators | PTT.76.297.2.5-77.1.1.6 | 12th AD? | |
| dpal ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga | Kun dga' sñiṅ po (Ānandagarbha) | bstan 'gyur | Kanakavarman and Rin ehen bzaṅ po translators | PTT.77.1.1.6-6.5.3 | 12th AD? | |
| dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa('i) rgya cher bśad pa'i 'grel pa | Ñi ma'i seṅ ge'i 'od (Sūryasiṃhaprabha) | bstan 'gyur | Prasvatala and Padma-ruche translators | PTT.83.1.1.1-70.3.7 | not yet known | |
| dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid mam par ṅes pa | not yet known | bka' 'gyur | not applieable | PTT.10.1.1.3-9.4.3 | not yet known | |
| dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i don bsdus 'grel piṇḍārtha | Vimalamitra | bstan 'gyur | Vimalamitra, Rin chen mchog, and Jñāna-kumāra translators | PTT.83.177.1.1-188.4.6 | 08th AD? | |
| dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i rim pa gñis kyi don | Intrabhudhi (Indrabhūti) | bstan 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.83.262.2.4-3.6 | 09th AD? | |
| 'phags pa ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba eho ga źib mo'i rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grel pa | Kāmadhenu pa | bstan 'gyur | Vinayacandra and Chos kyi śes rab translators | PTT.76.52.2.7-105.1.1 | 09th AD or earlier | |

| Title | Author (Date) | Collection | Compiler (Date) | Code Text/Fiche | Date Composition | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| rtsa kha 'byed pa'i man ṅag | Ni gu ma (11th AD) | bstan 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.82.60.3.2-6 | 11th AD | |
| rtsa rluṅ gi sgo nas mal 'byor gyi spyod pa | Ḍombi pa | bstan 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.69.206.1.1-8 | 10th-11th AD | |
| rtsa rluṅ la sogs sgom pa | Ni gu ma (11th AD) | bstan 'gyur | not applieable | PTT.82.60.3.6-4.6 | 11th AD | |
| źi khror dgyes pa dzaṃ bha la'i sgrub thabs | 'Jigs med 'byuṅ gnas sbas pa (Abhayākaragupta) | bstan 'gyur | Grags pa rgyal mtshan | PTT.81.47.5.4-48.4.7 | 11th AD? | |
| raṅ lus rtsa yi 'khor lo | mKha' 'gro | bstan 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.82.60.5.5-61.2.1 | not yet known | |
| gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa | not yet known | bka' 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.10.36.3.7-77.3.7 | not yet known | |
| gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa'i bla ma chen po | not yet known | bka' 'gyur | not applicable | PTT.10.98.2.5-108.4.8 | not yet known | |

## *Kloṅ chen pa*

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| khro bo bar do gnad kyi sgron me | XL.1318.1.i | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| 'khrul snaṅ ṅo sprod | XL.1321.1.m | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| sgron ma bźi skor | XL.1321.1.l | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| mṅon gsum ṅo sprod | XL.1318.1.hh | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| chos ñid bar do yon tan | XL.1318.1.l | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| 'chi kha bar do'i gsal 'debs | XL.1318.1.k | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| bar do ṅo sprod | XL.1318.1.m | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| bar do gnad kyi sgron me | XL.1321.1.v | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| bar do sbubs 'jug | XL.1321.1.u | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| bar do'i ṅo sprod | XL.1318.1.gg | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| bar do'i gdams pa 'byuṅ ba 'dus pa 'bral ba rtags kyi rim pa | XL.1318.1.j | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| bar do'i mtshan ñid bśad pa daṅ skye gnas rnams kyi rgyu bstan pa | XL.1318.1.ii | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| dbyiṅs snaṅ ṅo sprod | XL.1321.1.o | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| rmi lam sbubs 'jug | XL.1321.1.n | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus 'gyod tshaṅs gyi cho ga dri med bśags rgyud | Kern 28.542.40 | 12th AD | yes | |
| źi ba bar do lam gyi mtshan ñid | XL.1318.1.h | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| gźi snaṅ ṅo sprod | XL.1321.1.j | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| zab lam bde chen rgya mtsho | XL.1321.1.h | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| 'od gsal | XL.1318.1.n | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| 'od gsal 'khor lo | XL.1321.1.i | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| 'od gsal sbubs 'jug | XL.1321.1.k | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| 'od gsal pra khrid | XL.1321.1.q | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| rluṅ drug rdo rje'i chiṅs | XL.1321.1.f | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |
| rluṅ sbyor ye śes drwa ba | XL.1321.1.g | 14th AD or earlier | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript |

## *rGod kyi ldem 'phru can*

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| no title | XXIV.39 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgoṅs pa ye śes zaṅ thal gyi sgron ma | XXIV.97 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal gyi man ṅag khug pa lṅa'i gdams pa | XXIV.90/1-2 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| rdo rje phag mo'i zab rgya drug gi rtsa rluṅ gnad kyi man ṅag | XXIV.26 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| rdo rje phag mo'i zab rgya las khrid yig | XXIV.27 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| bar do 'od gsal sgron ma | XXIV.92 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| bar do raṅ snaṅ gi rgyud | XXIV.94 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| bar do'i lṅa'i ṅo sprod | XXIV.127 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| man ṅag sñiṅ gi dgoṅs pa rgyud rdo rje sems dpa' gsuṅs pa | XXIV.96 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mṅon sum źi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las | XL.2111 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mṅon sum źi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las | XL.2112 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mṅon sum źi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las | XXIV.40 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| rdzogs pa chen po sñiṅ thig gi man ṅag khug pa lṅa'i gdams ṅag | XXIV.91 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| rdzogs pa chen po dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal las rigs drug 'khor ba gnas 'dren | XXIV.43 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| rdzogs pa chen po rtsa gnas lus kyi 'khor lo | XXIV.20 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| rdzogs pa chen po'i ṅo sprod ñi śu rtsa gcig | XXIV.93 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| rdzogs pa chen po'i rtsa rluṅ gnad kyi sgron ma | XXIV.101 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| źi khro rab 'byams kyi bsñen sgrub kyi dmigs rim grub mchog źal luṅ bzaṅ po | XXIV.42 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |
| yaṅ gsaṅ bla na med pa rdzogs pa chen po rig pa ye śes raṅ gsal ba'i rgyud | XXIV.83 | 1366 AD | yes | also in XL.2116-2120 (R-1779-83) |

## *Ṅan soṅ sByoṅ ba*

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba | XX.PTT.7.198.4.2-7 | not yet known | yes | identical with PTT.11.(638) |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba źes bya ba'i cho ga'i bya ba mdor bsdus pa | XX.PTT.77.27.1.5-29.5.1 | 12th AD? | yes | |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po brtags pa snaṅ ba'i rgyan | XX.PTT.76.202.1.3-237.1.1 | not yet known | yes | |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa | XX.PTT.77.12.5.1-16.5.5 | 08th AD? | yes | |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa | XX.PTT.77.6.5.3-12.5.1 | 08th AD? | yes | |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor chen po'i sgrub thabs | XX.PTT.76.291.3.1-297.2.5 | 12th AD? | yes | |
| ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga | XX.PTT.77.16.5.5-27.1.5 | 11th AD? | yes | |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba 'gro ba rigs drug gi cho ga | XX.PTT.75.139.5.1-140.2.4 | 08th AD? | yes | |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i don gyi 'bru 'grel | XX.PTT.76.15.3.2-52.2.7 | 08th AD? | yes | |
| ṅan soṅ las sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs | XX.PTT.81.4.1.4-4.2.5 | not yet known | yes | |

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bcom ldan 'das de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i rnam par bśad mdzes pa'i rgyan | XX.PTT.76.105.1.1-202.1.3 | not yet known | yes | |
| de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba'i brtag pa'i bśad pa | XX.PTT.76.237.1.1-284.1.6 | not yet known | yes | |
| de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i rtog pa | XX.PTT.5.83.2.1-99.5.2 | not yet known | yes | |
| de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i brtog pa phyogs gcig pa | XX.PTT.5.99.5.2-121.5.4 | not yet known | yes | |
| dpal ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga thugs rje'i 'phreṅ ba | XX.PTT.76.297.2.5-77.1.1.6 | 12th AD? | yes | |
| dpal ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga | XX.PTT.77.1.1.6-6.5.3 | 12th AD? | yes | |
| 'phags pa ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba cho ga źib mo'i rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grel pa | XX.PTT.76.52.2.7-105.1.1 | 09th AD or earlier | yes | |
| źi khro ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i chog sgrigs khrom dkrus gsal pa'i rgyan źes bya ba bklags chog mar bkod pa | XLI.13t | 13th-14th AD | yes | identical with XLI.651 |
| źi khro ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i chog sgrigs khrom dkrus gsal pa'i rgyan źes bya ba bklags chog mar bkod pa | XLI.651 | 13th-14th AD | yes | identical with XLI.13t |

## *Na rag Doṅ sPrugs*

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bka' 'dus sñiṅ po yid bźin nor bu las phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po źi khro'i las byaṅ gi kha skoṅ ru thuṅ bźi'i bśags pa mal 'byor gyi spyi khrus na rag doṅ sprugs | XXIX.4.377-395 | not yet known | yes | |
| ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | Kern 28.452.54 | 12th AD | yes | identical with XL.1823, short version |
| ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | XII.24 | 12th AD | yes | dbu med, reprint of manuscript, Ñaṅ ral ñi ma 'od zer (short) version |
| ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | XL.1823 | 12th AD | yes | bad print, 1969 blocks in He mi rGod tsaṅ Hermitage, identical with Kern 28.542.54, short version |
| ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | XLI.264.Br.79/H289 | 12th AD (core) | yes | extended version |
| ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprugs | XIV.1236 | 12th AD (core) | yes | blocks in dGoṅ steṅ bśad sgrub chos gliṅ in Solu, Nepal, extended version |
| ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprugs | XXIX.66.171-184 | not yet known | yes | |
| ñams chags sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | XLI.263.2740/H388 | 12th AD (core) | yes | identical with XLI.263.2740/H440, extended version |
| ñams chags sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | XLI.263.2740/H440 | 12th AD (core) | yes | identical with XLI.263.2740/H388, extended version |

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ñams chags bśags pa na rag doṅ sprugs | XLI.MS1021dd | 08th AD? | yes | dbu med, manuscript |
| rdo rje sems dpa' thugs kyi sgrub pa las gsuṅs pa'i źi khro na rag doṅ sprugs thabs | XXIX.5.119-151 | not yet known | yes | |
| na rag doṅ sprugs | XLI.372 | not yet known | yes | |
| na rag doṅ sprugs kyi hkrid yig zab lam snaṅ 'byed | XL.1356 | 17th-18th AD | yes | dPal spuṅs blocks |
| na rag doṅ sprugs kyi cho ga 'khor ba kun sgrol | XL.0994 | 17th-18th AD | yes | Roṅ phu blocks in Thub bstan chos gliṅ in Solu, Nepal |
| na rag doṅ sprug skoṅ bśags | XXIX.66.185-201 | not yet known | yes | |
| źi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus | XLI.336b | 08th AD | yes | identical with XLI.653 |
| źi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus | XLI.650 | 08th AD | yes | |
| źi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus | XLI.653 | 08th AD | yes | identical with XLI.336b |
| źi khro na rak doṅ sprug gi skoṅ bśags thugs rje'i zla 'od | XXIX.5.153-187 | not yet known | yes | |
| źi khro na rak doṅ sprug gi dbaṅ chog bdud rtsi'i gaṅ gā | XXIX.5.189-213 | not yet known | yes | |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus 'gyod tshaṅs gyi cho ga dri med bśags rgyud | Kem 28.542.40 | 12th AD | yes | |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus 'gyod tshaṅs gyi cho ga dri med bśags rgyud | XL.1827 | 12th AD | yes | bad print, blocks in Bho gar Monastery |

## Źi khro Ṅes don sÑiṅ po

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Aequired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bka' 'dus sñiṅ po yid bźin nor bu las phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po źi khro'i las byaṅ rgyud kun sñiṅ khu ṅes don sñiṅ po | XXIX.4.347-375 | not yet known | yes | |
| bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ de'i cha lag źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i las byaṅ don gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgoṅs brgyan (also: yaṅ ...) | XL.1079 | 16th-17th AD | yes | blocks in Khum smad śo roṅ mkha' 'gro rol gliṅ |
| bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ de'i cha lag źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i las byaṅ don gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgoṅs brgyan (also: yaṅ ...) | XL.1080 | 16th-17th AD | yes | blocks in Me tog dpag yas in Solu, Nepal |
| zab chos źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po sgo nas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i lam rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod | private copy | 1718 AD edited | yes | lineage adapted to later edition |
| zab chos źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po sgo nas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod | XL.1416 | 1718 AD edited | yes | bad print, blocks in Ti nan Fortress in Gar źwa |
| zab chos źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po sgo nas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod | XLI.625 | 1718 AD | yes | bad print, titlepage missing, identical with XLI.667.2740/H194/ 2740/H426 |
| zab chos źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po sgo nas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod | XLI.667.2740/H194 | 1718 AD | yes | bad print, identical with XLI.667.2740/H426 and XLI.652 |

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| zab chos źi khro ńes don sñiṅ po sgo nas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod | XLI.667.2740/H426 | 1718 AD | yes | bad print, identical with XLI.667.2740/H194 and XLI.652 |
| yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ źi khro ńes don sñiṅ po'i phyag len chog sgrigs chog tu bkod pa 'ja' tshou dgoṅs rgyau | XL.1399 | 19th AD | yes | blocks in Khum bu steṅ che mdo sṅags theg mchog chos gliṅ |
| yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las źi khro ńes don sñiṅ po mṅon rtogs | XLI.MS1460 | not yet known | yes | dbu med, manuscript |

### *gSaṅ ba'i sÑiṅ po*

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i 'grel pa | XX.PTT.82.248.1.5-279.4.7 | 10th-12th AD? | yes | |
| dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po phyi ma | XXI.14.62-67 | not yet known | yes | |
| dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa | XXI.14.317-415 | not yet known | yes | |
| dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa('i) rgya cher bśad pa'i 'grel pa | XX.PTT.83.111-70.3.7 | not yet known | yes | |
| dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid rnam par ṅes pa | XX.PTT.10.1.1.3-9.4.3 | not yet known | yes | |
| dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i don bsdus 'grel piṇḍārtha | XX.PTT.83.177.1.1-188.4.6 | 08th AD? | yes | |
| dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i rim pa gñis kyi don | XX.PTT.83.262.2.4-3.6 | 09th AD? | yes | |
| 'phags pa rtogs pa'i rgyal po sgyu 'phrul dr(w)a ba le'u stoṅ phrag brgya pa las mtshan ñid daṅ rgyud thams cad luṅ gi spyad pa de bźin gśegs pa thams cad kyi gsaṅ ba gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa le'u las sgyu 'phrul le lag | XXI.14.415-549 | not yet known | yes | |
| gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa | XL.2104 | not yet known | yes | blocks in dGoṅ steṅ bśad sgrub chos gliṅ in Solu, Nepal |
| gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa | XX.PTT.10.36.3.7-77.3.7 | not yct known | yes | |

| Title | Bibliographical Code | Date Composition | Acquired | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa | XXI.14.1-61 | not yet known | yes | |
| gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa | XXI.14.67-317 | not yet known | yes | |
| gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa sgyu 'phrul brgyad pa źes bya ba'i rgyud | XXI.14.549-571 | not yet known | yes | |
| gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa'i sgyu 'phrul dr(w)a ba bla ma chen po | XXI.572-639 | not yet known | yes | |
| gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa'i bla ma chen po | XX.PTT.10.98.2.5-108.4.8 | not yet known | yes | |

## *Źi khro/Bar do*-Texts by Subject

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| 'khor ba doṅ sprugs | them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi ñams chags gso ba'i skoṅ bśags ñes pa kun sel 'khor ba doṅ sprugs dkyil 'khor gyi lde mig gsal ba'i me loṅ | XXIX.66.261-272 |
| 'khor ba doṅ sprugs | gsaṅ sṅags spyi chiṅs kyi gdams pa zab mo them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi ñams chags gso ba'i skoṅ bśags ñes pa kun sel 'khor ba doṅ sprugs khyad par du 'phags pa | XXIX.66.203-259 |
| 'gro drug/ rigs drug | gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgo nas rigs drug gnas 'dren gyi cho ga khams gsum doṅ sprugs | XXVI.149 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | dkyil 'khor spyi'i rim pa | XX.PTT.76.284.1.6-291.3.1 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba | XX.PTT.7.198.4.2-7 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba źes bya ba'i cho ga'i bya ba mdor bsdus pa | XX.PTT.77.27.1.5-29.5.1 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po brtags pa snaṅ ba'i rgyan | XX.PTT.76.202.1.3-237.1.1 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa | XX.PTT.77.12.5.1-16.5.5 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa | XX.PTT.77.6.5.3-12.5.1 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor chen po'i sgrub thabs | XX.PTT.76.291.3.1-297.2.5 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga | XX.PTT.77.16.5.5-27.1.5 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba 'gro ba rigs drug gi cho ga | XX.PTT.75.139.5.1-140.2.4 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i don gyi 'bru 'grel | XX.PTT.76.15.3.2-52.2.7 |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | ṅan soṅ las sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs | XX.PTT.81.4.1.4-4.2.5 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | bcom ldan 'das de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i rnam par bśad mdzes pa'i rgyan | XX.PTT.76.105.1.1-202.1.3 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba'i brtag pa'i bśad pa | XX.PTT.76.237.1.1-284.1.6 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i rtog pa | XX.PTT.5.83.2.1-99.5.2 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i brtog pa phyogs gcig pa | XX.PTT.5.99.5.2-121.5.4 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | dpal ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga thugs rje'i 'phreṅ ba | XX.PTT.76.297.2.5-77.1.1.6 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | dpal ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga | XX.PTT.77.1.1.6-6.5.3 |
| ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba | 'phags pa ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba cho ga źib mo'i rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grel pa | XX.PTT.76.52.2.7-105.1.1 |
| chos drug | skyes mchog 'ba ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ gis mdzad pa'i bla sgrub phyag chen chos drug bcas mdor bsdus sñiṅ por dril ba rje blo gros chos 'phel gyi zab gter ('ba ra ba'i phyag chen chos drug gter gźuṅ) | XL.1362.II.B.s |
| chos drug | mkhas sgrub mñam med dpal ldan nā ro pa'i rnam thar pa dri med legs bśad bde chen 'brug sgra | Guenther 1963 |
| chos drug | mkhas mchog nā ro paṇ chen gyi rnam thar | XLI.146c |
| chos drug | mkhas mchog nā ro paṇ chen gyi rnam thar pa dri med legs bśad bde chen 'brug sgra źes bya ba | XLI.80 |
| chos drug | chos drug gi man ṅag | XX.PTT.82.34.4.2-35.1.1 |
| chos drug | chos drug rdo rje tshig rkaṅ | XX.PTT.82.37.1.1-5.6 |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| chos drug | chos drug rdo rje gzuṅ ('ba ra ba'i lugs chos drug) | XL.1362.II.B.r |
| chos drug | chos drug bsdus pa'i zin 'bris ('brug lugs chos drug zin 'bris) | XL.1362.II.B.c |
| chos drug | chos drug bdud rtsi ñiṅ khu'i sṅon 'gro dṅos grub myur stsol (karma kaṃ tshaṅ chos drug sṅon 'gro) | XL.1361.II.B.2.i |
| chos drug | rje btsun mar pa lo tsā'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma'i skor rnams bźugs so gu ru chos dbaṅ rin po che'i gter byon no | XXIX.85.51-201 |
| chos drug | thabs lam gtum mo sgom pa | XX.PTT.82.60.4.6-5.5 |
| chos drug | nā ro chos drug gi rtag pa don gyi bryud pa la gsol ba 'debs pa tshig ñuṅ ṅur bgas pa ('bri guṅ chos drug brgyud 'debs) | XL.1361.II.B.2.aa |
| chos drug | nā ro chos drug gi zab khrid gser gyi lde mig | XLI.395p |
| chos drug | nā ro'i chos drug gi dmigs skor lag tu len tshul bsdus pa rdo rje'i gsuṅ pa bźin sems dpa' chen po kun bzaṅ bas bskod pa | IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9 |
| chos drug | nā ro'i chos drug gi dmigs skor lag tu len tshul bsdus pa rdo rje'i gsuṅ pa bźin sems dpa' chen po kun bzaṅ bas bskod pa | XLI.677b |
| chos drug | dpal nā ro pa chen po'i gegs sel gzer lṅa'i man ṅag (karma kaṃ tshaṅ gzer lṅa) | XL.1361.II.B.2.m |
| chos drug | dpal nā ro chos drug gi khrid yig yid bźin gyi nor bu | XL.1361.II.B.2.bb |
| chos drug | zab mo nā ro'i chos drug gi sñams len thun chos bdud rtsi'i sñiṅ khu źes bya ba sgrub brgyud karma kaṃ tshaṅ gi don khrid (karma kaṃ tshaṅ chos drug) | XL.1361.II.B.2.j |
| chos drug | zab lam nā ro chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chiṅs khrid yig daṅ bcas pa karma pa raṅ byuṅ rdo rjes mdzad pa'i chos drug gser zuṅ mar grags so | XL.1361.II.B.2.b |
| chos drug | zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan | IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9 |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| chos drug | zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan | PTT.160.208.3.3-161.13.2.8 |
| chos drug | zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan | XL.2617 |
| chos drug | zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan | XLI.677a |
| bar do | ghuru rad na gliṅ pa'i rmi lam raṅ snaṅ 'khrul grol bar do gnad kyi phraṅ grol źes bya ba mdzod khaṅ skabs dgu pa | XL.2069.12 |
| bar do | dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal gyi man ṅag khug pa lṅa'i gdams pa | XXIV.90/1-2 |
| bar do | mṅon gsum ṅo sprod | XL.1318.1.hh |
| bar do | 'chi kha bar do'i gsal 'debs | XL.1318.1.k |
| bar do | rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum | XL.1539 |
| bar do | rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum | XLI.255.2740/H57 |
| bar do | rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum | XLI.256.2740/H567 |
| bar do | rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum | Kern 28.536.3 |
| bar do | bar do ṅo sprod | XL.1318.1.m |
| bar do | bar do gnad kyi sgron me | XL.1321.1.v |
| bar do | bar do spyi'i don thams cad rnam par gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me loṅ | XL.2352/3 |
| bar do | bar do sbubs 'jug | XL.1321.1.u |
| bar do | bar do raṅ snaṅ gi rgyud | XXIV.94 |
| bar do | bar do'i ṅo sprod | XL.1318.1.gg |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| bar do | bar do'i lṅa'i ṅo sprod | XXIV.127 |
| bar do | bar do'i gdams pa 'byuṅ ba 'dus pa 'bral ba rtags kyi rim pa | XL.1318.1.j |
| bar do | bar do'i mtshan ñid bśad pa daṅ skye gnas mams kyi rgyu bstan pa | XL.1318.1.ii |
| bar do | rdzogs pa chen po sñiṅ thig gi man ṅag khug pa lṅa'i gdams ṅag | XXIV.91 |
| bar do | gźi sku gsum gyi mam bśag rab gsal sgron me | XL.0696 |
| rig pa ṅo sprod/ bar do | yan gsaṅ bla na med pa rdzogs pa chen po rig pa ye śes raṅ gsal ba'i rgyud | XXIV.83 |
| rmi lam | rmi lam sbubs 'jug | XL.1321.1.n |
| rtsa rluṅ | rdo rje phag mo'i zab rgya drug gi rtsa rluṅ gnad kyi man ṅag | XXIV.26 |
| rtsa rluṅ | rdo rje phag mo'i zab rgya las khrid yig | XXIV.27 |
| rtsa rluṅ | rtsa kha 'byed pa'i man ṅag | XX.PTT.82.60.3.2-6 |
| rtsa rluṅ | rtsa rluṅ mkha' 'gro gsaṅ mdzod cha tshaṅ daṅ mgur ma byaṅ khrid bcas kyi gsuṅ pod | XL.1429 |
| rtsa rluṅ | rtsa rluṅ gi sgo nas mal 'byor gyi spyod pa | XX.PTT.69.206.1.1-8 |
| rtsa rluṅ | rtsa rluṅ la sogs sgom pa | XX.PTT.82.60.3.6-4.6 |
| rtsa rluṅ | mtsho rgyal gyi gsuns pa'i zab lam yid bźin nor bu źes bya ba rtsa rluṅ gi chos skor | XL.2069.7 |
| rtsa rluṅ | rdzogs pa chen po rtsa gnas lus kyi 'khor lo | XXIV.20 |
| rtsa rluṅ | rdzogs pa chen po'i rtsa rluṅ gnad kyi sgron ma | XXIV.101 |
| rtsa rluṅ | zab lam bde chen rgya mtsho | XL.1321.1.h |
| rtsa rluṅ | raṅ lus rtsa yi 'khor lo | |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| rtsa rluṅ | rluṅ 'khrugs 'bum gyi yaṅ sñiṅ gśin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog źags dug gi 'khor lo | XXIX.85.37-43 |
| rtsa rluṅ | rluṅ 'khrugs 'bum gyi yaṅ sñiṅ gśin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog źags dug gi 'khor lo'i dpe bris bca' gźi'i śog khra yod | XXIX.85.45-50 |
| rtsa rluṅ | rluṅ drug rdo rje'i chiṅs | XL.1321.1.f |
| rtsa rluṅ | rluṅ sbyor ye śes drwa ba | XL.1321.1.g |
| źi khro | no title | XXIV.39 |
| źi khro | kar gliṅ źi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sñiṅ po dril ba | XII.34 |
| źi khro | kar gliṅ źi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sñiṅ por dril ba | XIV.1236 |
| źi khro | kun bzaṅ dgoṅs pa kun 'dus las źi khro'i bdag dbaṅ | XIV.1234 |
| źi khro | bka' brgyad gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs kyi rluṅ 'khor gyi lag len | XLI.MS1021gg |
| źi khro | bka' brgyad gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs las stobs ldan rluṅ gi 'khor lo | XLI.MS1021y |
| źi khro | bka' 'dus sñiṅ po yid bźin nor bu las phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po źi khro'i smin byed ma bug sprad pa ltas chog tu bsdebs pa kun tu bzaṅ po'i khrus chu | XXIX.4.397-447 |
| źi khro | bka' 'dus sñiṅ po yid bźin nor bu las phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po źi khro'i las byaṅ rgyud kun sñiṅ khu ṅes don sñiṅ po | XXIX.4.347-375 |
| źi khro | bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ de'i cha lag źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i las byaṅ don gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgoṅs brgyan (also: yaṅ ...) | XL.1079 |
| źi khro | bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ de'i cha lag źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i las byaṅ don gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgoṅs brgyan (also: yaṅ ...) | XL.1080 |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| źi khro | bka' rdzogs pa chen po yań zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus rtsa gsum źi khro sbrags sgrubs kyi las byań bltas chog tu bkod pa padma'i dgońs rgyan | XL.1083 |
| źi khro | sku gsum bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi gsol 'debs dug gsum ma spań rań grol | I.1 |
| źi khro | bskyed rim lhan thabs 'dzab dgońs grags stoń tshańs dbyańs bzlas rań grol | XIV.1237 |
| źi khro | khro bo bar do gnad kyi sgron me | XL.1318.1.i |
| źi khro | 'khrul snań ńo sprod | XL.1321.1.m |
| źi khro | grol tig dgońs pa rań grol gyi chos sde źi khro'i bskyed rdzogs kyi phrin las khrigs su bsdebs pa 'od gsal sñiń po | XXIX.4.283-346 |
| źi khro | rgyal ba kun gyi yab gcig rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyańs źi khro sprags sgrub kyi dmigs skor thun moń ba dań thun moń ma yin pa ñams su len tshul sku gsum go 'phań mthoń bar brgod pa'i them skus bla na med pa | XLI.112e |
| źi khro | rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsań ba'i sñiń po'i 'grel pa | XX.PTT.82.248.1.5-279.4.7 |
| źi khro | brgya phyag sdig sgrib rań grol | XIV.1234 |
| źi khro | brgya phyag sdig sgrib rań grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | XII.18 |
| źi khro | brgya phyag sdig sgrib rań grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | XIV.1235 |
| źi khro | brgya phyag sdig sgrib rań grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | XIV.1236 |
| źi khro | brgya pbyag sdig sgrib rań grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | XIV.1238 |
| źi khro | brgya phyag sdig sgrib rań grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lags | I.6 |
| źi khro | brgya phyag sdig sgrib rań grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lags | XI.1 |
| źi khro | brgya phyag sdig sgrib rań grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lags | XIV.1237 |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| źi khro | brgya phyag bsdus pa'i dbu phyogs | XIV.1236 |
| źi khro | cho ga sdig sgrib rnam par sbyoṅ ba | XXIX.4.189-281 |
| źi khro | chos ñid bar do yon tan | XL.1318.1.1 |
| źi khro | chos ñid bar do'i khrid yig mthoṅ ba raṅ grol gyi ṅo sprod car phog khyer bde ba źig | XXIX.4.147-187 |
| źi khro | chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | I.2 |
| źi khro | chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | X.12.2 |
| źi khro | chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | X.187.2 |
| źi khro | chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | X.19.2 |
| źi khro | chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | XI.10 |
| źi khro | chos ñid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | XIV.1237 |
| źi khro | chos ñid bar do'i gsol 'debs thos grol chen mo | XIV.1233 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | X.187.7 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | X.19.6 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | XII.3 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | XIII.662 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | XIV.1232 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | XIV.1233 |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags ran grol | XIV.1235 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | XLI.663.Br.79/H230 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | XLI.663.Br.79/H261 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | I.7 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | XI.8 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | XIV.1234 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol | XIV.1236 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | XIV.1237 |
| źi khro | chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag | XIV.1238 |
| źi khro | 'chi ltas mtshan ma raṅ grol legs par (bźugs so) | I.9 |
| źi khro | 'chi bslu zab mo | I.10 |
| źi khro | tantra thams cad kyi rtsa bar gyur pa sgyu sprul drwa ba gsaṅ ba sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa rtsa ba'i rgyud sogs | XXI.14 |
| źi khro | btags grol phuṅ po raṅ grol gyi don bsdus raṅ grol sñiṅ po | I.5 |
| źi khro | thugs kyi thigs pa'i man ṅag | XXI.14.639-665 |
| źi khro | gnam chos thugs gter sñan brgyud dam pa rigs brgya'i sgrub thabs kyi lhan thabs gson byaṅ bźu thabs bsdud pa'o | XXIX.66.553-560 |
| źi khro | dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po phyi ma | XXI.14.62-67 |
| źi khro | dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa | XXI.14.317-415 |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| źi khro | dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid nes pa('i) rgya cher bśad pa'i 'grel pa | XX.PTT.83.111-70.3.7 |
| źi khro | dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid rnam par ṅes pa | XX.PTT.10.1.1.3-9.4.3 |
| źi khro | dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i don bsdus 'grel piṇḍārtha | XX.PTT.83.177.1.1-188.4.6 |
| źi khro | dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i rim pa gñis kyi don | XX.PTT.83.262.2.4-3.6 |
| źi khro | 'phags pa rtogs pa'i rgyal po sgyu 'phrul dr(w)a ba le'u stoṅ phrag brgya pa las mtshan ñid daṅ rgyud thams cad luṅ gi spyad pa de bźin gśegs pa thams cad kyi gsaṅ ba gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa le'u las sgyu 'phrul le lag | XXI.14.415-549 |
| źi khro | bar do'i ṅo sprod | XLI.MS1352 |
| źi khro | bar do'i chos bśad thos pas rnam grol | XXIX.66.501-521 |
| źi khro | dbaṅ ldan źu yi riṅ lugs kyi źi khro'i sgrub skor (collection of 41 "Bon"-texts) | XL.0684/5 |
| źi khro | 'byuṅ ba rluṅ gi cho ga bźugs pa'i dbu legs | XLI.MS1021u |
| źi khro | bla ma 'jam dpal źi khro'i sa bcad daṅ de'i zab khrid man ṅag bka' brgya ma'i zin bris gza' ñi ma mthun gaṅ ma'i ñams len 'khyer bde bcas 'di rnams la dbaṅ daṅ 'khrid rgyun ma thob pas blta bar mi bya'o | XLI.527f |
| źi khro | man ṅag sñiṅ gi dgoṅs pa rgyud rdo rje sems dpa' gsuṅs pa | XXIV.96 |
| źi khro | rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mṅon sum źi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las | XL.2111 |
| źi khro | rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mṅon sum źi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las | XL.2112 |
| źi khro | rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mṅon sum źi khro lhun grub kyi phrin las | XXIV.40 |
| źi khro | rdzogs pa chen po źi khro bka' 'dus sñiṅ po'i las byaṅ kun bzaṅ mchog gi myur lam | Kern 28.542.** |
| źi khro | źi khro bka' brgyad yoṅs rdzogs kyi dam can dgos su bsgrub pa'i thabs | XLI.MS1021g |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| źi khro | źi khro sgom rim chuṅ ba lhan skyes raṅ grol | XLI.654 |
| źi khro | źi khro sgrub skor (collection of 53 "*Bon*"-texts) | Zogai 614/.29, v. Karmay (1977), pp.31-36 |
| źi khro | źi khro ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i chog sgrigs khrom dkrus gsal pa'i rgyan źes bya ha bklags chog mar bkod pa | XLI.13t |
| źi khro | źi khro ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i chog sgrigs khrom dkrus gsal pa'i rgyan źes bya ba bklags chog mar bkod pa | XLI.651 |
| źi khro | źi khro 'dus pa'i las byaṅ rtsal 'phreṅ tshor ha raṅ grol | XII.6 |
| źi khro | źi khro 'dus pa'i las byaṅ rtsar 'phreṅ tshor ha raṅ grol | XIV.1235 |
| źi khro | źi khro 'dus pa'i las byaṅ rtsar 'phreṅ tshor ba raṅ grol | XIV.1236 |
| źi khro | źi khro yoṅs rdzogs kyi sbyin sreg | XLI.MS1021ii |
| źi khro | źi khro yoṅs rdzogs sgo nas ro bsreg sbyaṅ | XLI.MS1021jj |
| źi khro | źi khro rab 'byams kyi bsñen sgrub kyi dmigs rim grub mchog źal luṅ bzaṅ po | XXIV.42 |
| źi khro | źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | X.12.15 |
| źi khro | źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | XI.2 |
| źi khro | źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | XII.23 |
| źi khro | źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | XIII.665 |
| źi khro | źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | XIV.1233 |
| źi khro | źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | XIV.1236 |
| źi khro | źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | XIV.1237 |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
| --- | --- | --- |
| źi khro | źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol | XIV.1238 |
| źi khro | źi khro'i kloṅ bśags ñams chag raṅ grol gyi cha rkyen gyi bskaṅ bsdus | XIV.1234 |
| źi khro | źi khro'i sgo nas phuṅ po sreg sbyoṅ bya ba'i lag len | XIV.1234 |
| źi khro | źi khro'i mdun bskyed śin tu bsdus pa snod bcud raṅ grol | XIV.1234 |
| źi khro | źi khror dgyes pa dzaṃ bha la'i sgrub thabs | XX.PTT.81.47.5.4-48.4.7 |
| źi khro | źi ba dam pa rigs brgya'i sgrub thabs | XLI.MS1021z |
| źi khro | źi ba bar do lam gyi mtshan ñid | XL.1318.1.h |
| źi khro | zab chos źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po sgo nas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i lam rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod | private copy |
| źi khro | zab chos źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po sgo nas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod | XL.1416 |
| źi khro | zab chos źi khro nes don sñiṅ po sgo nas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod | XLI.625 |
| źi khro | zab chos źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po sgo nas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod | XLI.667.2740/H194 |
| źi khro | zab chos źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po sgo nas raṅ daṅ gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las rim 'khor ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod | XLI.667.2740/H426 |
| źi khro | yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i phyag len chog sgrigs cbog tu bkod pa 'ja' tshon dgoṅs rgyan | XL.1399 |
| źi khro | yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po mṅon rtogs | XLI.MS1460 |
| źi khro | yi dam spyi yi byaṅ chog śi śog gson śog gaṅ byed kyaṅ 'brel tshad don ldan bde chen zhiṅ gi lam bzaṅ | XXIX.66.535-551 |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| źi khro | yoṅs rdzogs stobs ldan rluṅ 'khor | XLI.MS1021f |
| źi khro | las byaṅ bsdus pa | XIV.1235 |
| źi khro | gśin po rjes su 'dzin pa'i cho ga thar pa'i myur lam | XXIX.66.523-533 |
| źi khro | saṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa' mams ra mda' spraṅ pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa raṅ grol daṅ bar do'i rtsa tshig daṅ bar do 'phraṅ grol daṅ bar do 'jigs skyobs ma bcas | I.4 |
| źi khro | srid pa bar do'i ṅo sprod gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo | I.3 |
| źi khro | gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa | XL.2104 |
| źi khro | gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa | XX.PTT.10.36.3.7-77.3.7 |
| źi khro | gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa | XXI.14.1-61 |
| źi khro | gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa | XXI.14.67-317 |
| źi khro | gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa sgyu 'phrul brgyad pa źes bya ba'i rgyud | XXI.14.549-571 |
| źi khro | gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa'i sgyu 'phrul dr(w)a ba bla ma chen po | XXI.572-639 |
| źi khro | gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa'i bla ma chen po | XX.PTT.10.98.2.5-108.4.8 |
| źi khro | hor bla mu khri yid bźin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi źi khro'i sgrub skor (collection of 51 "Bon"-texts) | XL.1071/2 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | bka' 'dus sñiṅ po yid bźin nor bu las phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po źi khro'i las byaṅ gi kha skoṅ ru thuṅ bźi'i bśags pa mal 'byor gyi spyi khrus na rag don sprugs | XXIX.4.377-395 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | Kern 28.452.54 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | XII.24 |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | XL.1823 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | XLI.264.Br.79/H289 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprugs | XIV.1236 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | ñams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprugs | XXIX.66.171-184 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | ñams chags sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | XLI.263.2740/H388 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | ñams chags sdig sgrib thams ead bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug | XLI.263.2740/H440 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | ñams chags bśags pa na rag doṅ sprugs | XLI.MS1021dd |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | rdo rje sems dpa' thugs kyi sgrub pa las gsuṅs pa'i źi khro na rag doṅ sprugs thabs | XXIX.5.119-151 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | na rag doṅ sprugs | XLI.372 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | na rag doṅ sprugs kyi hkrid yig zab lam snaṅ 'byed | XL.1356 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | na rag doṅ sprugs kyi cho ga 'khor ba kun sgrol | XL.0994 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | na rag doṅ sprug skoṅ bśags | XXIX.66.185-201 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | źi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus | XLI.336b |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | źi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus | XLI.650 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | źi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus | XLI.653 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | źi khro na rak doṅ sprug gi skoṅ bśags thugs rje'i zla 'od | XXIX.5.153-187 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | źi khro na rak doṅ sprug gi dbaṅ chog bdud rtsi'i gaṅ gā | XXIX.5.189-213 |
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | źi khro na rag doṅ sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus 'gyod tshaṅs gyi cho ga dri med bśags rgyud | Kern 28.542.40 |

| Main Subject | Title | Bibliographical Code |
|---|---|---|
| źi khro na rag doṅ sprug | źi khro na rag doṅ sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi 'khrus 'gyod tshaṅs gyi cho ga dri med bśags rgyud | XL.1827 |
| źi khro/ 'pho ba | gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i 'phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs daṅ 'pho ba'i man ṅag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs | XXVI.235 |
| 'od gsal | kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgoṅs pa ye śes zaṅ thal gyi sgron ma | XXIV.97 |
| 'od gsal | sgron ma bźi skor | XL.1321.1.1 |
| 'od gsal | bar do 'od gsal sgron ma | XXIV.92 |
| 'od gsal | dbyiṅs snaṅ ṅo sprod | XL.1321.1.o |
| 'od gsal | gźi snaṅ ṅo sprod | XL.1321.1.j |
| 'od gsal | 'od gsal | XL.1318.1.n |
| 'od gsal | 'od gsal 'khor lo | XL.1321.1.i |
| 'od gsal | 'od gsal sbubs 'jug | XL.1321.1.k |
| 'od gsal | 'od gsal pra khrid | XL.1321.1.q |
| ye śes lṅa | rdzogs pa ehen po'i ṅo sprod ñi śu rtsa gcig | XXIV.93 |
| rigs drug | rdzogs pa ehen po dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal las rigs drug 'khor ba gnas 'dren | XXIV.43 |
| rigs drug | rigs drug gnas 'dren | XIV.1234 |
| rigs drug | rigs drug gnas 'dren | XIV.1236 |
| rigs drug | rigs drug gnas 'dren ñuṅ bsdus sgrigs chags | XIV.1235 |
| rigs drug | rigs drug gnas 'dren bsdus pa | XII.42 |

# Collections of "*Bon*"-*Źi khro*-Texts

## Collections

| Title Collection | Compiler (Date) | Bibl. graph. Code | Date Printing | Place Printing | Folios |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dbaṅ ldan źu yi riṅ lugs kyi źi khro'i sgrub skor (collection of 41 "*Bon*"-texts) | there are contributions as late as those by Ñi ma bstan 'dzin or Ñi ri śel bźin (1813-) | XL.0684/5 | 1975 | Delhi | 1238pp. |
| hor bla mu khri yid bźin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi źi khro'i sgrub skor (collection of 51 "*Bon*"-texts) | Hor pa yid bźin rgyal ba tshul khrims (ca. 1651-?) | XL.1071/2 | 1975 | New Delhi | 1186pp. |
| źi khro sgrub skor (collection of 53 "*Bon*"-texts) | Ñi ma bstan 'dzin or Ñi ri śel bźin (1813-) | Zogai 614/.29, v. Karmay (1977), pp.31-36 | 1967 | Delhi | 963pp. |

## Individual Texts

| Title | Author (Date) | Code Text/Fiche | Date Composition | Place Composition | Folios |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| źi khro dgoṅs pa kun 'dus thos chog raṅ grol chen po'i rgyud las rigs 'dzin tshaṅ khrus | Dam pa raṅ grol (1149-) | SB-774.1 | 12-13th AD | not yet known | 10pp. |
| spyi spuṅs sgrub pa'i phyag bźes man ṅag gnad gron byed pa'i lde mig gsal ba'i sgron ma | Źu btsun bstan pa g-yuṅ druṅ rgyal po | SB-774.2 | not yet known | not yet known | 66pp. |
| rgyun khyer nar ma'i ñams len 'phrul gyi baṅ mdzod ces bya ba skyabs ston rin chen 'od zer gyis bźed pa'o | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-774.3 | not yet known | not yet known | 28pp. |
| źi ba g-yuṅ druṅ yoṅs rdzogs kyi mgon rtogs tiṅ 'dzin gsal ba'i sgron ma | Blo gros seṅ ge | SB-774.4 | not yet known | not yet known | 49pp. |
| źi ba yoṅ rdzogs kyi sgos 'dzab 'phro du źal śes me loṅ | Ñi ma 'bum gsal (sPa-lineage) | SB-774.5 | not yet known | not yet known | 31pp. |
| źi ba g-yuṅ druṅ yon rdzogs kyi mgon rtogs | Khra chags med bkra' śis rgyal mtshan | SB-774.6 | not yet known | not yet known | 34pp. |
| khro bo ṅo mtshar rgyas pa'i mgon rtogs bdag ñid don sgrub | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-774.7 | not yet known | not yet known | 46pp. |
| spyi spuṅs gsaṅ ba'i mdun bskyed | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-774.8 | not yet known | not yet known | 31pp. |
| khro bo ṅo mtshar rgyas pa'i 'khor lo drug pa lha rgyan gcig pa śug bstun (bskyed rim) | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-774.9 | not yet known | not yet known | 15pp. |
| khro bo dbaṅ chen gyi bdag ñid don gyi bsgrub pa las lha rgyan gcig pa dang śugs bstun gñis kyi bskyed pa | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-774.10 | not yet known | not yet known | 22pp. |
| (gsaṅ sṅags rgyud phyag mu tig 'phreṅ ba) | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-774.11 | not yet known | not yet known | 7pp. |
| spyi spuṅs brgyud phyag | Źu btsun g-yuṅ druṅ khri 'od | SB-774.12 | not yet known | not yet known | 5pp. |
| ('dzab sgron gsal ba'i sgron me) | not yet known | SB-774.13 | not yet known | not yet known | 6pp. |
| (khrus gsol) | not yet known | SB-774.14 | not yet known | not yet known | 1p. |
| (phyi naṅ gsaṅ gsum gyi 'dzab dgoṅs daṅ bcas pa'i tiṅ 'dzin) | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-774.15 | not yet known | not yet known | 6pp. |
| don rgyud rgyas pa g-yuṅ druṅ rdzogs pa'i cha lag śog chuṅ | rGyal ba tshul khrims | SB-774.16 | not yet known | not yet known | 33pp. |
| (gñis pa g-yuṅ druṅ lu gu rgyud) | not yet known | SB-774.17 | not yet known | not yet known | 1p. |
| (gsaṅ sṅags bla med kyi mchod rdzas byin rlabs) | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-774.18 | not yet known | not yet known | 7pp. |
| spyi spuṅs kyi yig chuṅ gnad sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan | rGyal ba tshul khrims | SB-774.19 | not yet known | not yet known | 48pp. |
| gźi sgrub kyi yig chuṅ gnad sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan | rGyal ba tshul khrims | SB-774.20 | not yet known | not yet known | 13pp. |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| lam sgrub kyi yig chuṅ gnad sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan | rGyal ba tshul khrims | SB-774.21 | not yet known | not yet known | 37pp. |
| 'bras sgrub kyi yig chuṅ gnad sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan | rGyal ba tshul khrims | SB-774.22 | not yet known | not yet known | 56pp. |
| (a dkar bstan pa rgyas byed) | rGyal sras ye śes blo gros | SB-774.23 | not yet known | not yet known | 12pp. |
| gsas mkhar rin po che spyi spuṅs kyi naṅ nas źi ba 'bring po thig le dbyiṅs bskyed | Bla ma gyer | SB-775.1 | not yet known | not yet known | 62pp. |
| khro bo 'briṅ po gsaṅ ba 'dus pa las thig le | mKhan po Ñi ri śel źin, Ñi ma bstan 'dzin (1813-) | SB-775.2 | not yet known | not yet known | 44pp. |
| źi ba dbyiṅs kyi gsaṅ thus | rMa ston (=rMa ston srol 'dzin (1092-)?) | SB-775.3 | not yet known | not yet known | 34pp. |
| gsaṅ ba thugs kyi brnags pa khro bo gsaṅ thus | rMa ston (=rMa ston srol 'dzin (1092-)?) | SB-775.4 | not yet known | not yet known | 83pp. |
| (spyi spuṅs kyi gsol 'debs seṅ ge 'gyiṅ ba'i sgra dbyaṅs) | bsTan pa 'od zer | SB-775.5 | not yet known | not yet known | 12pp. |
| gsol 'debs | not yet known | SB-775.6 | not yet known | not yet known | 1p. |
| (bar do thos grol gyi 'dzab btod) | mGon btsun wer tshul | SB-775.7 | not yet known | not yet known | 1p. |
| źi khro bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi thos grol las byaṅ bag chags raṅ grol | Dran pa'i nam mkha' (8th AD), sMan rgyal dam pa raṅ grol (1149-) (gter ston) | SB-775.8 | not yet known | not yet known | 81pp. |
| (thos grol gyi bla ma mkha' 'gro'i bstod phyag zur bkod ehu skyes do śal) | sPa btsun ñi miṅ | SB-775.9 | not yet known | not yet known | 6pp. |
| ltuṅ bśags dri med mchog sbyaṅ | Tshul khrims śar pa rin chen | SB-775.10 | not yet known | not yet known | 61pp. |
| rigs drug raṅ sbyaṅ gi gdams pa zab mo | not yet known | SB-775.11 | not yet known | not yet known | 11pp. |
| (mam lṅa'i smon lam) | not yet known | SB-775.12 | not yet known | not yet known | 5pp. |
| źi khro rgyas pa'i zin ris snaṅ gsal sgron ma | Ñi ma bstan 'dzin dbaṅ gi rgyal po (=Mkhan po Ñi ri śel bźin) (1813-) | SB-775.13 | 1848 | sMan ri | 51pp. |
| źi khro tshogs brgya 'briṅ po'i lag len rab dkar chu śel dbaṅ po | Mkhan po Ñi ri śel bźin (=Ñi ma bstan 'dzin dbaṅ gi rgyal po) (1813-) | SB-775.14 | 1848 | sMan ri | 24pp. |
| źi khro tshogs brgya bsdus pa'i lag len daṅs śel me loṅ | Ñi ma bstan 'dzin dbaṅ gi rgyal po (=Mkhan po Ñi ri śel bźin) (1813-) | SB-775.15 | not yet known | not yet known | 18pp. |
| (źi khro śin tu bsdus pa'i zin ris) | not yet known | SB-775.16 | not yet known | not yet known | 1p. |
| dbaṅ chen ño mtshar rgyas bzlog reg zig gsal byed 'phrul gyi me loṅ | bDud 'dul sprul miṅ tshul khrims dbaṅ grag | SB-775.17 | not yet known | not yet known | 40pp. |
| spyi spuṅs źi khro'i sgo nas tshogs daṅ mar me brgya rtsar 'bul thabs kyi lag len srid pa'i sgron me 'od kyi 'khor lo | sPa rigs kyi btsun pa sur ya kha ri | SB-775.18 | not yet known | not yet known | 77pp. |
| źi ba g-yuṅ druṅ yoṅs su rdzogs pa'i gźuṅ (źi ba) | not yet known | SB-2069.1 | not yet known | not yet known | 107pp. |
| (sman mchod) | not yet known | SB-2069.2 | not yet known | not yet known | 5pp. |
| (źi ba g-yuṅ druṅ yoṅs kyi 'phro mam gsum) | not yet known | SB-2069.3 | not yet known | not yet known | 3pp. |
| gsas mkhar źi ba g-yuṅ druṅ yoṅs rdzogs daṅ khro bo dbaṅ chen gyi 'dzab daṅ phyag rgya gar gyi lag len ('dzab) | Śes rab dgoṅs rgyal | SB-2069 4 | not yet known | not yet known | 15pp. |
| spyi spuṅs khro bo ño mtshar rgyas pa'i spa gro'i bskaṅ chuṅ (tshogs bskaṅ) | Rin chen bkra' śis | SB-2069.5 | not yet known | not yet known | 8pp. |
| gsas mkhar rin po ehe spyi spuṅs kyi źi khro ye śes bskaṅ rdzogs chen mo (bskaṅ ba) | not yet known | SB-2069.6 | not yet known | not yet known | 39pp. |
| khro bo dbaṅ ehen spyi spuṅs (spyi spuṅs) | not yet known | SB-2069.7 | not yet known | not yet known | 42pp. |
| g-yuṅ druṅ skabs kyis 'phreṅ ba (skabs phrin) | not yet known | SB-2069.8 | not yet known | not yet known | 41pp. |
| khro bo dbaṅ chen gyi pho ña (pho ña) | not yet known | SB-2069.9 | not yet known | not yet known | 45pp. |
| khro bo dbaṅ chen gyi ma tshogs skor gsum | not yet known | SB-2069.10 | not yet known | not yet known | 37pp. |
| khro bo dbaṅ chen rtags sgrub (rtags sgrub) | not yet known | SB-2069.11 | not yet known | not yet known | 23pp. |
| khro bo ño mtshar rgyas pa'i rtags sgrub chen mo | not yet known | SB-2069.12 | not yet known | not yet known | 65pp. |
| gze rtags | not yet known | SB-2069.13 | not yet known | not yet known | 23pp. |
| (sgral ba'i śog chuṅ) | not yet known | SB-2069.14 | not yet known | not yet known | 1p. |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (gtoń rag gi śog chuń) | not yet known | SB-2069.15 | not yet known | not yet known | 1p. |
| (gyad dmag bstod bskul) | sGo bstan ñi ma bstan 'dzin dbań rgyal | SB-2069.16 | not yet known | not yet known | 3pp. |
| (bsñan rgyud bar do thos grol gyi rig 'dzin mkha' 'gro'i sku bstod) | Ñi ri śel bźin (=Ñi ma bstan 'dzin dbań gi rgyal po) (1813-) | SB-2069.17 | not yet known | not yet known | 3pp. |
| (sgo dbye) | not yet known | SB-2069.18 | not yet known | not yet known | 1p. |
| khro bo ño mtshar rgyas pa'i g-yuń druń skabs kyi 'phreń ba'i dńos sgrub lha'i yań sñiń (skabs) | not yet known | SB-2069.19 | not yet known | not yet known | 39pp. |
| spyi spuńs dbań chen khro bo'i gtor ma'i phyi skoń nań skoń bar skoń gsum (gtor skyoń) | Rin chen 'od zer (=sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer? v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-2069.20 | not yet known | not yet known | 27pp. |
| khro bo ño mtshar rgyas pa'i phywa tshe dmu yed g-yań sgrub kyi mgon rtog (mgon rtogs) | Rin chen blo gros (=Bya btań rin chen blo gros) | SB-2069.21 | not yet known | not yet known | 11pp. |
| khro bo ño mtshar rgyas pa'i phywa tshe g-yań gi bum pa'i bca' ga (rgyan bkod) | not yet known | SB-2069.22 | not yet known | not yet known | 7pp. |
| khro bo ño mtshar rgyas pa'i phywa tshe g-yań gi spyan 'dren phyag bśag | not yet known | SB-2069.23 | not yet known | not yet known | 5pp. |
| (g-yuń druń tshe yi rten 'jug) | not yet known | SB-2069.24 | not yet known | not yet known | 2pp. |
| khro bo ño mtshar rgyas pa'i phywa tshe g-yań sgrub (phywa g-yań) | rMa ston srid 'dzin (cf. rMa ston srol 'dzin (1092-)) | SB-2069.25 | not yet known | not yet known | 17pp. |
| gsas mkhar khro bo dbań chen bsñen sgrub zin ris ud pa la'i chun po (dbań chen) | not yet known | SB-782.1 | not yet known | not yet known | 11pp. |
| gsań sńags spyi yi gźi thog rgyań 'bod (gźi 'beb) | not yet known | SB-782.2 | not yet known | not yet known | 9pp. |
| ('phrag g-yań) | not yet known | SB-782.3 | not yet known | not yet known | 1p. |
| gsań sńags spyi yi dng phyuń dań ge khod kyi 'khrus dań spos bsań | not yet known | SB-782.4 | not yet known | not yet known | 24pp. |
| (bar phud kha bskańs) | Slob dpon bstan pa 'od zer | SB-782.5 | not yet known | not yet known | 4pp. |
| sńon 'gro thar cha druń mu ba ras mdzad pa'i cha gsum (thar cha) | not yet known | SB-782.6 | not yet known | not yet known | 5pp. |
| (gśen bon rań glud) | not yet known | SB-782.7 | not yet known | not yet known | 5pp. |
| (phyi rten skos kyi bsñen pa) | not yet known | SB-782.8 | not yet known | not yet known | 10pp. |
| (gtor ma'i gsal thim) | not yet known | SB-782.9 | not yet known | not yet known | 3pp. |
| spyi spuńs gi yig chuń gnad sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan bsñen dgu (bsñen dgu) | rGyal ba tshul khrims | SB-782.10 | not yet known | not yet known | 46pp. |
| gźi sgrub kyi yig chuń gnad sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan (gźi sgrub) | rGyal ba tshul khrims | SB-782.11 | not yet known | not yet known | 13pp. |
| lam sgrub tiń 'dzin gnad sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan (lam sgrub) | rGyal ba tshul khrims | SB-782.12 | not yet known | not yet known | 38pp. |
| 'bras sgrub kyi yig chuń gnad sgron mdzes pa'i zur rgyan ('bras sgrub) | rGyal ba tshul khrims | SB-782.13 | not yet known | not yet known | 56pp. |
| (mchod pa mam lńa) | not yet known | SB-782.14 | not yet known | not yet known | 1p. |
| khro bo dbań chen gyi phyag bźes gnad sgron byed pa'i lde mig (gnad sgron) | not yet known | SB-782.15 | not yet known | not yet known | 78pp. |
| (sman gyi śog chuń) (yig chuń) | not yet known | SB-782.16 | not yet known | not yet known | 1p. |
| (skyabs ston pa'i zab thig go cha drwa gur can) (zab thig) | not yet known | SB-782.17 | not yet known | not yet known | 6pp. |
| khro bo dbań chen gyi gsol 'debs seń ge'i sgra dbyańs (gsol 'debs) | bsTan pa 'od zer | SB-782.18 | not yet known | not yet known | 11pp. |
| źi ba g-yuń druń yońs rdzogs su pa'i rogon rtogs (mgon rtogs) | bKra śis rgyal mtshan . | SB-782.19 | not yet known | not yet known | 31pp. |
| khro bo dbań chen gyi snań sems bskyed rdzogs bdag ñid don sgrub (bdag bskyed) | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-782.20 | not yet known | not yet known | 44pp. |
| khro bo ño mtshar rgyas pa'i mdun bskyed gsal ba'i sgron me (mdun bskyed) | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-782.21 | not yet known | not yet known | 32pp. |
| (khro bo dbań chen gyi rgyud phyag mu tig 'phreń ba) (rgyud phyag) | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-782.22 | not yet known | not yet known | 6pp. |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (spyi spuṅs khro bo dbaṅ chen ṅo mtshar rgyas pa'i mchod pa'i sbyaṅs spel) (sbyaṅs spel) | sKyabs ston rin chen 'od zer (v. Karmay (1972), pp.126, 137, and 190) | SB-782.23 | not yet known | not yet known | 7pp. |
| (sman phud kha bskoṅ) | not yet known | SB-782.24 | not yet known | not yet known | 3pp. |
| (gsas mkhar rin po che ži ba g-yuṅ druṅ yoṅs su rdzogs pa'i phyag gi śog chuṅ) (phyag) | not yet known | SB-782.25 | not yet known | not yet known | 6pp. |
| ži ba g-yuṅ druṅ yoṅs rdzogs kyi bśag pa'i śog chuṅ (bśags pa) | rMa ston srid 'dzin (cf. rMa ston srol 'dzin (1092-)) | SB-782.26 | not yet known | not yet known | 4pp. |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.1 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.2 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.3 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.4 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.5 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.6 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| gSas mkhar rin po che spyi spuṅs ži ba g-yuṅ druṅ yoṅs su rdzogs pa'i phrin las | rediscovered by rMa ston srol 'dzin (1092-) | Zogai 614/.29.7 | not yet known | not yet known | 141pp. |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.8 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.9 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.10 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.11 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.12 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.13 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.14 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.15 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.16 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.17 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.18 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.19 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.20 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.21 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.22 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.23 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.24 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.25 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.26 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.27 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.28 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.29 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.30 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.31 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| sÑan brgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo | Dran pa'i nam mkha' (8th AD), sMan rgyal dam pa raṅ grol (1149-) (gter ston) | Zogai 614/.29.32 | not yet known | not yet known | 86pp. |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.33 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.34 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.35 | not yet known | not yet known | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Zogai 614/.29.36 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.37 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.38 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.39 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.40 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.41 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.42 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.43 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.44 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.45 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.46 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.47 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.48 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.49 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.50 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.51 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.52 | not yet known | not yet known | |
| | | Zogai 614/.29.53 | not yet known | not yet known | |

**Literature concerning *Chos drug* and *Bar do-s***

*skyes mchog 'ba ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ gis mdzad pa'i bla sgrub phyag chen chos drug bcas mdor bsdus sñiṅ por dril ba*| *rje blo gros chos 'phel gyi zab gter* (XXVIII.1362.II.B.s)

*mkhas sgrub mñam med dpal ldan nā ro pa'i rnam thar pa dri med legs bśad bde chen 'brug sgra* (Guenther ed./trsl., 1963)

*mkhas mchog nā ro paṇ chen gyi rnam thar pa dri med legs bśad bde chen 'brug sgra źes bya ba* (XLI.80)

*mkhas mchog nā ro paṇ chen gyi rnam thar* (XLI.146c)

*mñam med dpal ldan 'brug pa'i gdams ṅag las* <u>*sgom pa*</u> *nā ro'i chos drug gi khrid kyi źal śes zab mo go bder bkod pa rmoṅs mun śes byed ñi 'od* (XL.4182)

*chos drug rdo rje'i gzuṅ* (XXVIII.1362.II.B.r)

*chos drug bdud rtsi sñiṅ khu'i sṅon 'gro dṅos grub myur stsol* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.i, XL.4156, v. 3258)

*chos drug bsdus pa'i zin bris* (Evans-Wentz, 1958, XXVIII.1362.II.B.c, XL.3707)

*'chi med tsaṇḍa li'i brgyud 'debs* (XL.1354)

*jo bo nā ro pa'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i gzuṅ 'grel rdo rje 'chaṅ dgoṅs pa gsol bar byed pa* (XL.1890)

*jo bo nā ro pa'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i khrid rdo rje'i theg par brgod pa'i śin rta chen po* (XL.1891)

*rje btsun nā ro mkha' spyod ma'i 'pho ba'i gdams pa gsal ba'i sgron me* (XL.1805)

*rje btsun mar pa lo tsā'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma'i skor rnams bźugs so*|| || *gu ru chos dbaṅ rin po che'i gter byon* (XXIX.22.454=XXIX.85.51-201)

*rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum* (Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XLI.255 (2x))

*gtum mo źag gsum ma'i dmigs rim zin bris* (XLI.MS1169)

*gu ru'i thugs sgrub yaṅ sñiṅ 'dus pa'i gsaṅ khrid rigs lṅa las*| <u>*gtum mo'i khrid kyi bsgom rim*</u> *gsal byed ñi zla kha sbyor bde chen chos sku mju btshugs* (XXIX.20.172)

*nā ro'i chos drug gi rtag pa don gyi brgyud pa la gsol 'debs pa tshig ñuṅ ṅur byas pa* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.a)

*nā ro'i chos drug gi dmigs skor lag tu len tshul bsdus pa rje'i gsuṅ pa bźin sems dpa' chen po kun bzaṅ bas bskod pa* (XLI.677b, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)

*paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ po'i gsuṅ 'bum ṅa pa'i dkar chag*| <u>*nā ro chos drug gi zab khrid gser gyi lde mig*</u> (XLI.395p)

*ni gu chos drug gi khrid yig zab don thad mar brdal ba źes bya ba bklags chog ma* (XLII.14)

*ni gu chos drug rgyas pa khrid yig ye śes mkha' 'gro ma'i źal luṅ* (Mullin, 1982)

*dpal ldan nā ro chos drug gi khrid tig mchog gi gra chen daṅ gsan spyod zlog sgom gyi khrid yig zil non seṅ ge'i ṅa ro* (not yet located, v. XLII.15)

*dpal nā ro chos drug gi khrid yig yid bźin gyi nor bu* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b[1])

*dpal nā ro pa chen po'i gegs gzer lṅa'i man ṅag* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.m)

*dpal nā ro pa'i chos drug las rtsa ba tsaṇḍā lī daṅ po'i las can rnams kyi bgo skal du rnam par phye ba'i zin ris skal bzaṅ ku mu ta 'dzum pa'i zla tshes* (XL.1135)

*dpal 'bri guṅ pa'i lags kyi chos drug dril ba'i gdams pa* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.z)

*phag mo zab rgya'i gtum mo ras rkyaṅ gi zin bris mdor bsdus* (XLI.MS1312)

*dpal ldan śaṅs pa'i gser chos las*| <u>*rtsa ba*</u> *ni gu chos drug gi khrid(?) bsdus stan thog cig ma'i ñams len ye śes rja ki'i źal luṅ* (XXIX.20.234)

*zab mo nā ro'i chos drug gi ñams len thun chos bdud rtsi ñiṅ khu źes bya ba sgrub brgyud karma kam tshaṅ gi don khrid* (XL.3258, v.XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, and XLII.13)

*zab mo nā ro chos drug gi ñams len thun chos bdud rtsi'i ñiṅ khu źes bya ba sgrub brgyud karma kham tshaṅ gi don khrid* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, v. XLII.13, and XL.3258)

*zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa* (Dargyay, 1978 (1977)[404])

*zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan* (XL.2617, XLI.677a, PTT.160.208.3.3-161.13.2.8, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)

*zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chiṅs khrid yig daṅ bcas pa| karma pa raṅ byuṅ rdo rjes mdzad pa'i chos drug gser źun mar grags so* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b)

*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ| 'od gsal* (XXIII.1318.1.n)

*ṅes don sñiṅ po| 'od gsal 'khor lo* (XXIII.1321.1.i)

*ṅes don sñiṅ po| 'od gsal phra khrid* (XXIII.1321.1.q)

*ṅes don sñiṅ po| 'od gsal 'bubs 'jug* (XXIII.1321.1.k)

*bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor gyi rtsa tshig rnams*[405] (XL.3169)

*bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor spyi'i sṅon rjes kyi rim pa rnams kyi zin bris brjed byaṅ blo dman dga' bskyed*[406] (XL.3170)

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[404] By *rJe Tshoṅ kha pa*, folios 41vff., Gangtok (1972).

[405] *Nā ro'i chos drug.*

[406] *Nā ro'i chos drug.*

**Specific Texts concerning *'Pho ba***

*mgon po 'od dpag med la brten pa'i 'pho khrid* (Dargyay, 1978 (1977), p.100)[407]

*paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ po'i gsuṅ 'bum ṅa pa'i dkar chag\ rgyal ba 'byams pa la brten pa'i 'pho ba legs pa cig* (XLI.395u)

*'chi mtshan rtags pa daṅ tshe grub 'pho ba'i rnam bśad* (Mullin, 1986)

*'chi med kloṅ gsal rdo rje'i srog bsgrub las\ 'ja' lus rdo rje'i gsaṅ lam 'pho ba mkha' spyod myur lam* (XLI.1145)

*(źe dgu ma)\ rnam śes goṅ du 'pho ba'i rgya cher bśad pa gser gyi sgo byed pa* (XLI.800.o)

*'pho ba 'jag tshug ma thar lam gsal la ston* (XLI.MS1313)

*dpal gar gyi dbaṅ phyug gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi (mkha' 'gro'i) 'pho ba'i man ṅag mchog lam yaṅ rtse* XXVI.271[408])

*(źe dgu ma)\ 'pho khrid kyi rtsa tshig brtag pa brgyad pa'i rab tu byed gsum pa* (XLI.800n)

*bde mchog dril bu pa'i bla brgyud gsol 'debs daṅ\ dpal 'khor lo bde mchog dril bu lha lṅa'i dbaṅ chog bde chen sñiṅ po\ 'pho khrid dpa' bo gyul 'jug gyi lhan thabs zin bris* (XLI.347z)

*'pho ba dran pa raṅ grol* (Dargyay, 1978, p.199)

*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ\ 'pho ba* (XXIII.1318.1.y[1])

*bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus 'pho ba skar khuṅ mda' 'phaṅs kyi rim pa* (XLI.MS1029)

*bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las\ 'pho ba skar khuṅ mda' 'phaṅs kyi rim pa* (XLI.MS1030)

*bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las 'pho ba skar khuṅ mda' 'phaṅ lhan thabs gsal byed myur 'gyogs bde chen pho ña bźugs so* (XLI.MS1031)

*kloṅ chen sñiṅ thig le las 'pho ba ma bsgoms saṅs rgyas* (Dargyay, 1978, pp.199f.)[409]

*gźi snaṅ ye śes sgron me\ 'pho ba 'od gsal sñiṅ po* (XXIII.1316.1.r)

*['pho ba'i man ṅag] phag chen 'phrul mdzod* (XXVI.178)

*myur lam 'pho ba'i rnal 'byor dpal 'brug pa'i ñams bśes 'jags tshugs ma* (XLI.604)

*yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa skar khuṅ mda' phaṅ* (XLI.MS1459)

*zab lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa 'jag tshugs ma'i lo rgyus gdams ṅag khrid yig daṅ bcas pa bźugs so\\ ñi zla saṅs rgyas gter byon* (XXIX.20.655)

*sñan rgyud gsaṅ ba'i mthar thug las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa sñiṅ gi thig le* (Evans-Wentz, 1958)

*rje btsun bla ma dgoṅs can grub pa'i rdo rje'i bka' 'bum ga pa'i dkar chag\ 'od dpag med kyi 'pho ba bka' rgya ma'i bka' zin* (XLI.242bb)

*gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs daṅ pho ba'i man ṅag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs* (XXVI.235)

*gsaṅ ye daṅ 'brel ba'i pho ba bklags chog ma* (XXVI.236)

*gsaṅ lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa las tshe 'das rnam śes spar ba'i dmigs pa* (Evans-Wentz 1958)

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[407] In the Collected Works of *Guṅ thaṅ dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me* edited by N. Gelek Demo in GSMGS Vol.XXXVIII, pp.354-369, New Delhi (1975).

[408] The bracketed *mkha' 'gro'i*, was added by the authors of the catalogue (Dieter Schuh and Peter Schwieger).

[409] In *sñiṅ thig pod gñis* (two volumes) of *gnas chuṅ grva tshaṅ*, Vol.I, pp.4ff.

**Tibetan Sources on *Źi khro* and *Bar do-s*, General List**

*kar gliṅ źi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sñiṅ po dril ba* (XII.34)
*kar gliṅ źi khro'i gnas 'dren gyi mtshams sbyor sñiṅ por dril ba| phan mtha' yas pas bris pa* (*XIV.1236)
*kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal du bstan pa'i rtsa rgyud* (XXIV.84)
*kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgoṅs pa ye śes zaṅ thal gyi sgron ma* (XXIV.97)
*kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol* (*IV.1.24, *XIV.1234)
*dkar chag* (IV.2.17,18, VI.I, XII.1)
*dkyil 'khor drug gi cho ga* (XX.PTT.79.174.2.3-184.1.2)
*dkyil 'khor spyi'i rim pa* (XX.PTT.76.284.1.6-291.3.1)
*sku gsum bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi gsol 'debs* (*III.1)
*sku gsum bla ma'i <rnal 'byor gyi> gsol 'debs dug gsum ma spaṅ(s) raṅ grol* (*I.1[410], *III.1, *IV.1.3, *VI.2, *VII.2.12, *XII.26[411], *XIV.1234,1235,1236[412]-1238)
*sku gsum gsol 'debs kloṅ yaṅ s raṅ grol* (*XII.4, *XIV.1234,1236)
*skoṅ bśags* (*XIII.MS1446)
*skoṅ bśags ñams chag raṅ grol gyi thugs dam bskaṅ ba'i rim pa rnams* (*IV.1.25, *XIV.1235)
*skoṅ bśags ñams chags raṅ grol gyi dbaṅ bskur gnas spar 'gro drug raṅ grol* (*VII.1.8)
*skoṅ bśags ñams chags raṅ grol las| dbaṅ bskur gnas spar 'gro drug raṅ grol* (*XIII.1445c)
*skoṅ bśags ñams chags raṅ grol las| dbaṅ gi sṅon 'gro lhan grubs zin bris* (*XIII.1445c)
*skye śi bar do'i rnam bźug* (Lati Rinbochay, 1979)[413]
*skyes mchog 'ba ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ gis mdzad pa'i bla sgrub phyag chen chos drug bcas mdor bsdus sñiṅ por dril ba| rje blo gros chos 'phel gyi zab gter* (XXVIII.1362.II.B.s)
*bskaṅ bsdus* (XIV.1238)
*bskaṅ ba ñams chag raṅ grol gyi bskyed rim sṅon 'gro'i lhan thabs* (*XIV.1235)
*bskaṅ bśags ñams chags raṅ grol gyi sṅon 'gro lhan thabs* (*IV.1.4, *VII.1.13)
*bskaṅ bśags ñams chag raṅ grol gyi cha lag tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro drug raṅ grol* (*IV.2.5, *XIV.1234)
*bskaṅ bśags ñams chag raṅ grol gyi thugs la bskaṅ ba'i rim pa* (*XII.27)
*bskaṅ bśags ñams chags raṅ grol gyi thugs dam bskaṅ ba'i rim pa* (*IV.1.25, *VII.1.20, *XIV.1238)
*bskaṅ bśags ñams chags raṅ grol gyi thugs dam bskaṅ ba'i rim pa| rgya ga ra ba nam mkha' rgya mtshos bris (pa)* (*XIV.(1234),1236)
*bskyed rim sṅon 'gro lhan thabs* (*IV.1.4, *XIII.MS1447)
*bskyed rim sṅon 'gro lhan thabs| rga btsun nam mkha' chos kyi rgya mtshos bris pa* (*XIV.1234)
*bskyed rim lhan thabs 'dzab dgoṅs grags stoṅ tshaṅs dbyaṅs bzlas tshad raṅ grol| sṅags 'chaṅ chos 'byuṅ gis sbyar ba* (*IV.1.13, (*XIV.1234))
*kha 'bar ma nag po'i 'chi bslu bsdus pa* (XL.1251)
*khā hil dharma seṅges so* (XIV.1234)

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410 Reading: *spaṅ*.
411 Omitting: *rnal 'byor gyi*.
412 Omitting: *rnal 'byor gyi*.
413 Cited from "The Collected Works of *Ṅag dbaṅ mkhas grub = Kya'i rdor mkhan po* of Urga (1779-1838) Vol.I, pp.459-474, Leh, S.W. Tashigangpa (1972).

*dam chos rdzogs pa chen po ṅo sprod kyi skor las kham pa'i mi mo la brten nas rnam śes 'byuṅ 'jug gnas gsum ṅo sprod* (*VII.2.21)
*rdor sems thugs kyi sgrub pa'i khyad par gyi rdzogs rim snaṅ bźi'i man ṅag gi khrid yig mṅon sum 'od gsal 'khor lo* (XXIX.20.046)
*ṅes don sñiṅ po| khrul snaṅ ṅo sprod* (XXIII.1321.1.m)
*khrus gsol bsdus pa* (XII.30)
*zab bdun rgyud zab sgyu sprul las: khro bo dam pa bsdus pa'i lam: sgrub thabs sñiṅ por bsdus* (XXIX.20.067)
*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ| khro bo bar do gnad kyi sgron me* (XXIII.1318.1.i)
*khro bo bar do gsol 'debs thos grol* (XLII.4)
*khro bo'i bar do 'char tshul bstan pa* (I.2, V.2, VI.4, VIII.2, X.12.2,=19.2,=187.2, XI.10, XIV.1233, XIV.1237=XI.10)
*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ| mkha' 'gro gtum mo khyad par can* (XXIII.1318.1.o)
*mkhas grub kun gyi gtsug brgyan| paṇ chen nā ro pa'i rnam thar| ṅo mtshar rmad byuṅ* (Guenther ed./trsl., 1963)
*mkhas sgrub mñam med dpal ldan nā ro pa'i rnam par thar pa dri med legs bśad bde chen 'brug sgra* (Guenther trsl., 1963)
*mkhas mchog nā ro paṇ chen gyi rnam thar pa dri med legs bśad bde chen 'brug sgra źes bya ba* (XLI. 146c)
*mkhas mchog nā ro paṇ chen gyi rnam thar* (XLI. 80)
*'khor lo'i man ṅag* (XX.PTT. 79.150.1.1-2.5)
*gaṅ zag ñams len can la thugs dam gsal 'debs su byed thabs bar do'i ṅo sprod kun bzaṅ źal luṅ* (XL.3484)
*gar gyi dbaṅ phyug gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro ma'i 'phrin las kyi le lag srog gi skyabs gcig ('chi ba blu ba'i cho ga)* (XXV.150)
*ghuru rad na gliṅ pa'i rmi lam raṅ snaṅ 'khrul grol bar do gnad kyi phraṅ grol źes bya ba mdzod khaṅ skabs dgu pa* (XXVII.2069.12)
*glegs bam bźugs byaṅ dkar chag* (*VII.1.22)
*mgon po 'od dpag med la brten pa'i 'pho khrid* (Dargyay, 1978 (1977), p.100)[414]
*'gyod tshaṅs rgyal po'i byuṅ khuṅs lo rgyus daṅ bcas* (VII.1.2)
*rgya btsun nam mkha' chos kyi rgya mtshos mchos bris pa* (XIV.1234)
*dga' ldan lha brgya ma'i khrid yig mdor bsdus| rgyal ba kun gyi yab gcig rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyaṅs źi khro sprags sgrub kyi dmigs skor thun moṅ ba daṅ| thun moṅ ma yin pa ñams su len tshul sku gsum go 'phaṅ mthoṅ bar brgod pa'i them skus bla na med pa* (XLI.112e)
*paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ po'i gsuṅ 'bum ṅa pa'i dkar chag| rgyal ba 'byams pa la brten pa'i 'pho ba legs pa cig* (XLI.395u)
*rgyal ba źi khro tshe dpag med lha bcu gsum gyi dkyil 'khor chen po sgrub ciṅ mchod pa'i cho ga yid bźin sprin phuṅ* (XXIX.20.370)
*rgyas pa'i sbyin sreg gud du bstan pa'i yig chuṅ* (*VII.2.3)
*rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i 'grel pa* (XX.PTT.82.248.1.5-279.5.1.1)
*mñam med dpal ldan 'brug pa'i gdams ṅag las sgom pa nā ro'i chos drug gi khrid kyi źal śes zab mo go bder bkod pa rmoṅs mun śes byed ñi 'od* (XL.4182)
*sgom rim lhan skyes ye śes* (*IV.1.9, *VII.1.16, *XIV.1234)
*źi khro sgom rim lhan skyes raṅ grol* (XIV.1234)
*sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud kyi mchan 'grel ñi zla sñiṅ po* (XL.1051)

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[414] In the Collected Works of *Guṅ thaṅ dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me* edited by N. Gelek Demo in GSMGS Vol.XXXVIII, pp.354-369, New Delhi (1975).

*sgyu 'phrul źi khro rab 'byams kyi dkyil 'khor* (XLII.p.100, n.75)
*sgyu ma lam gyi rim pa* (XX.PTT. 82.46.5.1-51.2.3)
*sgyu ma lam gyi rim pa'i 'grel pa* (XX.PTT. 82.51.2.3-60.3.2)
*sgrib sbyoṅ* (XII.21, XIV.1236)
*sgron ma drug gi ṅo sprod śes rig raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag* (VII.3.1)
*ṅes don sñiṅ po| sgron ma bźi skor* (XXIII.1321.1.1)
*brgya phyag sdig sgrib raṅ grol* (*III.10, *IV.2.3, *XIV.1234)
*brgya phyag sdig sgrib raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag(s)* (*I.6[415], ~*III.10, ~*IV.2.3, *VI.12, *VII.1.17, *XI.1[416]=XIV.1237, *XII.18, *XIV.1235,1236,1237[417]=XI.1,1238)
*brgya phyag bsdus pa* (XIV.1236)
*brgyud pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus nor bu'i phreṅ ba* (*VII.1.5)
*brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs* (*V.13, *VIII.13, *X.12.13,=187.13, *XIV.1233)
*brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs bdud rtsi'i char rgyun* (XIV.1235)
*ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba* (XX.PTT.7.198.4.2-7)
*ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba źes bya ba'i cho ga'i bya ba mdor bsdus pa* (XX.PTT.77.27.1.5-29.5.1)
*bcom ldan 'das de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i rnam par bśad mdzes pa'i rgyan* (XX.PTT.76.105.1.1-202.1.3)
*ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po brtags pa snaṅ ba'i rgyan* (XX.PTT.76.202.1.3-237.1.1)
*bcom ldan 'das ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po kun rig rnam par snaṅ mdzad kyi cho ga'i ṅag 'don gyi rim pa chu 'bebs su bkod pa thabs mkhas ded dpon* (XL.3009)
*'phags pa ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba cho ga źib mo'i rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grel pa* (XX.PTT.76.52.2.7-105.1.1)
*de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po źes bya ba'i brtag pa'i bśad pa* (XX.PTT.76.237.1.1-284.1.6)
*de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i rtog pa* (XX.PTT.5.83.2.1-99.5.2)
*de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i brtog pa phyogs gcig pa* (XX.PTT.5.99.5.2-121.5.4)
*ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga* (XX.PTT.77.6.5.3-12.5.1)
*dpal ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga thugs rje'i 'phreṅ ba* (XX.PTT.76.297.2.5-77.1.1.6)
*ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i rim pa* (XX.PTT.77.12.5.1-16.5.5)
*ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor chen po'i sgrub thabs* (XX.PTT.76.291.3.1-297.2.5)
*dpal ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga* (XX.PTT.77.1.1.6-6.5.3)
*ṅan soṅ thams cad yoṅs su sbyoṅ ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga* (XX.PTT.77.16.5.5-27.1.5)
*ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba 'gro ba rigs drug gi cho ga* (XX.PTT. 75.137.5.1-140.2.4)

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[415] Reading: *lags*.
[416] Reading: *lags*.
[417] Reading: *lags*.

*ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i don gyi 'bru 'grel* (XX.PTT. 76.15.3.2-52.2.7 (comm. 76.52.2.7-77.29.5.1))
*ṅan soṅ las grol ma'i sgrub thabs* (XX.PTT. 81.4.1.4-2.5)
*ṅo sprod* (IV.2.14, XIV.1234)
*ṅo sprod thams cad kyi sṅon 'gro dur khrod bam ro bskyal ba la brten nas mi rtag pa'i bskul bar ṅo sprod pa* (*VII.2.20)
*ṅo sprod mthoṅ ba raṅ grol gyi mar me ṅo sprod kyi lhan thabs* (VII.3.4)
*ṅo sprod mthoṅ ba raṅ grol gyi gźi'i 'od gsal ṅo sprod kyi lhan thabs* (VII.3.3)
*gźi snaṅ ye śes sgron me*| *ṅo sprod dran pa'i me loṅ* (XXIII.1316.1.s)
*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ*| *mṅon gsum ṅo sprod* (XXIII.1318.1.h)
*sṅags(?) 'chaṅ(?) chos 'byuṅ gi sbyar(?) ba* (XIV.1234)
*sṅags bśags sdig sgrib raṅ grol* (IV.2.4)
*bcom ldan 'das 'jam dpal źi khro'i sñams len rgyun khyer mchog thun gyi dṅos grub thams cad myur du thob par byed pa'i rdo rje'i cho ga* (XXIX.20.549)
*cho ga thams cad kyi sṅon du 'gro ba gźi bdag raṅ bgegs la gtor ma 'bul thabs*| *rig 'dzin Ji ma grags pas spyan raṅs pa* (XIV.1236)
*cho ga sdig sgrib rnam par sbyoṅ ba* (*XXIX.20.056=*XXIX.4.189-281)
*bka' sruṅ(s) dam can sde bdun chos skyoṅ kun 'dus kyi mdaṅs bskaṅ gdug pa raṅ grol* (*IV.1.26, *VII.3.19, *XII.28, *XIII.MS1443, (*XIII.MS1445d), *XIV.1235,1236)
*bka' sruṅ dam can sde bdun chos skyoṅ kun 'dus kyi mdaṅs bskaṅ gdug pa raṅ grol*| *nam mkha' rgya mtshos bris pa* (*XIV.1234)
*chos skyoṅ kun 'dus dam can sde bdun gyi las byaṅ chuṅ ba gdug pa raṅ grol* (XIV.1238)
*chos rgyal gser gyi lag pa źes bya ba'i phyag mar me phul ba'i lo rgyus smon lam daṅ bcas pa* (XIV.1235)
*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ*| *chos ñid bar do yon tan* (XXIII.1318.1.l)
*chos ñid bar do'i khrid yig mthoṅ ba raṅ grol gyi ṅo sprod car phog khyer bde ba źig* (*XXIX.20.055=*XXIX.4.147-187)
*chos ñid bar do'i gsa(l/o)l 'debs thos grol chen mo* (*I.2, *II.2, *III.2, ~*V.1, *VI.3, *VII.3.5, *VIII.1, IX.1,2, *X.12.2,=19.2,=187.2, *XI.10, *(XIV.1233), *XIV.1237=*XI.10)
*chos ñid źi ba'i bar dor ṅo sprod pa'i thos sgrol chen mo* (*V.1)
*chos drug gi man ṅag* (XX.PTT. 82.34.4.2-35.1.1)
*chos drug rdo rje'i gzuṅ* (XXVIII.1362.II.B.r)
*chos drug bdud rtsi sñiṅ khu'i sṅon 'gro dṅos grub myur stsol* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.i, XL.4156, v. 3258)
*chos drug bsdus pa'i zin bris* (Evans-Wentz, 1958, XXVIII.1362.II.B.c, XL.3707)
*chos spyod brgya phyag sdig sgrib raṅ grol* (XLII.2)
*chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol* (*III.5, *IV.2.9, *V.17, *VI.11, *VIII.17, *X.19.6,=187.17, *XII.3, *XIII.662,663(2x=), *XIV.1232,1233,1235,1236)
*chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag(s)* (*I.7, *II.5[418], *VII.1.11, *VIII.17, *XI.8=XIV.1238, *XIV.1234,1237=XI.8,1238)
*chos bśad* (XII.32)
*mchod (b)stod* (XII.15, (XIV.1236))
*mchod rlabs* (XIV.1234)
*bka' sruṅ sde bdun mchod gsol mdor bsdus pa* (*IV.1.18)
*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ*| *'chi kha bar do'i gsal 'debs* (XXIII.1318.1.k)

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[418] Reading: *lags*.

*'chi ltas kyi 'chi ba'i mtshan ñid daṅ rtsa 'chad pa'i mdor bsdus chen po* (XX.PTT. 46.186.1.1-194.5.5)
*gźi snaṅ ye śes sgron me| 'chi ltas dran pa'i me loṅ* (XXIII.1316.1.t)
*'chi ltas mtshan ma raṅ grol* (*I.9, *II.7, *III.8, *V.9, *VI.15, *VII.3.8, *VIII.9, *X.12.9,=187.9, *XI.4, *XIV.1233,1237)
*'chi ltas mtshan ma raṅ grol (legs par)* (*I.9)
*bde gśegs rigs lṅa'i sgrub thabs padma stoṅ ldan| 'chi ba brtag bslu'i man ṅag ñi zla gza 'bral* (XXIII.1321.2.d)
*'chi ba blu ba'i bsdus don* (XX.PTT. 86.19.2.2-5.7)
*'chi ba blu ba'i man ṅag* (XX.PTT. 86.21.2.1-30.4.1)
*'chi ba slu ba* (XX.PTT. 86.121.4.1-5.7)
*'chi ba slu ba'i gdams pa* (XX.PTT. 79.130.2.5-130.4.5)
*'chi ba'i slu ba'i sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs* (XX.PTT. 81.2.1.6-2.4)
*'chi ba'i blu ba'i man ṅag* (XX.PTT. 59.103.5.2-110.3.8)
*rje btsun blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye śes dpal bzaṅ po'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor rnams chabs gcig tu bsdebs pa| 'chi blu'i skor rnams* (XLI.252j)
*'chi blu'i bsdus don* (XX.PTT. 86.19.5.7-21.2.1)
*gźi snaṅ ye śes sgron me| 'chi bslu dran pa'i me loṅ* (XXIII.1316.1.u)
*'chi med grub pa*-cycle on *rtsa*, *thig le*, *rluṅ*, *sems*, *zla ba*, etc. (XX.PTT. 87.155.2.3-161.5.2)
*'chi med tsaṇḍa li'i brgyud 'debs* (XL.1354)
*'chi mtshan rtags pa daṅ tshe grub 'pho ba'i rnam bśad* (Mullin, 1986)
*'chi mtshan rtags par raṅ grol* (Mullin, 1986)
*'chi slu ba'i man ṅag gi sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs* (XX.PTT. 81.4.3.1-4.7)
*'chi bslu 'jigs pa raṅ grol* (*V.14, *VI.16, *VIII.14, *X.12.14,=187.14, *XIV.1233)
*'chi bslu ba'i gdams pa chu stoṅ zlog gi man ṅag bklag chog tu bkod pa* (XXIX.22.259)
*rdzogs pa chen po'i lo rgyus las 'chi bslu zab mo* (II.8, XIV.1237)
*rdzogs pa chen po'i lo rgyus mdo byaṅ po ti smug chuṅ las 'chi bslu zab mo* (I.10, ~II.8, III.9, VII.3.9, XI.3)
*'chi b(s)lu'i skor* (XIII.252)
*jo bo thugs rje chen po 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs ṅan soṅ raṅ grol* (XL.3501)
*jo bo nā ro pa'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i gzuṅ 'grel rdo rje 'chaṅ dgoṅs pa gsol bar byed pa* (XL.1890)
*jo bo nā ro pa'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i khrid rdo rje'i theg par brgod pa'i śin rta chen po* (XL.1891)
*rje'i rnam thar śin tu gsaṅ ba ṅo mtshar rmad du byuṅ ba'i gtam| 'jam dbyaṅs źi khro sbrags sgrub thun moṅ ma yin pa* (XLI.261b)
*'chi med kloṅ gsal rdo rje'i srog bsgrub las| 'ja' lus rdo rje'i gsaṅ lam 'pho ba mkha' spyod myur lam* (XLI.1145)
*rje btsun nā ro mkha' spyod ma'i 'pho ba'i gdams pa gsal ba'i sgron me* (XL.1805)
*rje btsun ma yi bźin 'khor lo'i sgo nas 'chi blu daṅ 'brel ba'i brtan bźugs 'bul tshul 'chi med grub pa'i dga' ston* (XL.2663)
*rje btsun mar pa lo tsā'i gdams pa chos drug sras mkhar ma'i skor rnams bźugs so|| || gu ru chos dbaṅ rin po che'i gter byon* (XXIX.22.454=XXIX.85.51-201)
*rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum* (Kern 28.536.3, XL.1539, XLI.255 (2x))
*rje tshun sur ya tsan dra'i rmi lam bar do thos grol chos kyi che ba bskyed byed mtshan med rdzogs rim lhan thabs kyi skor bźi* (VII.3.10)
*rje'i rnam thar śin tu gsaṅ ba ṅo mtshar rmad du byuṅ ba'i gtam| 'jam dbyaṅs źi khro sbrags sgrub thun moṅ ma yin pa* (XLI.261b)

*ñams chag(s) sdig sgrib thams cad bśags pa'i rgyal po na rag doṅ sprug(s)* (XII.24, XIV.1236[419], XXIX.21.251=XXIX.66.171-184, XL.1823, XLI.263[420] (3x:Br.-79/H189, 2740/388,440), Kern 28.542.54)
*bka' brgyad gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gźuṅ*| *ñams chags bśags pa na rag doṅ sprugs* (XLI.MS1021dd)
*rñiṅ ma spyi'i sṅon 'gro skyabs sems daṅ dkar bgegs kyi gtor ma* (XIV.1238)
*sñan rgyud rig pa gcer mthoṅ* (XL.0435 ("*Bon*"))
*bsñen yig mdor bsdus rnam grol don gsal* (*VII.2.9, *XXIX.20.054)
*tantra thams cad kyi rtsa bar gyur pa sgyu 'phrul drva ba gsaṅ ba sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa rtsa ba'i rgyud sogs* (XXI.14)
*gtum mo źag gsum ma'i dmigs rim zin bris* (XLI.MS1169)
*gu ru'i thugs sgrub yaṅ sñiṅ 'dus pa'i gsaṅ khrid rigs lṅa las*| *gtum mo'i khrid kyi bsgom rim gsal byed ñi zla kha sbyor bde chen chos sku mju btshugs* (XXIX.20.172)
*gter kha gñis 'dus rtsa rluṅ thig le'i khrid zin mdor bsdus zab don kun 'dus* (XXIX.22.508)
*gter bdag ma niṅ nag po* (IV.1.19)
*gter sruṅ sgam po lha rtse'i mchod gsol phrin las raṅ grol* (*IV.1.20)
*gtor dbaṅ reg pa don ldan* (*VII.1.9, *XII.46, *XIII.MS1445b, *XIV.1236, *XXIX.20.053)
*btags grol gyi skor rnams* (XLII.24)
*btags sgrol stoṅ gsal til mtha' dbus dral* (XLII.25)
*btags grol phuṅ po raṅ grol* (*V.7, *VI.9, *VII.3.11, *VIII.7, *XIV.1233)
*btags grol phuṅ po raṅ grol gyi don bsdus raṅ grol* (*II.6)
*btags grol phuṅ po raṅ grol gyi(|las) don bsdus raṅ grol sñiṅ po(r)* (*I.5, *III.7, *IV.1.15[421], *VII.3.12, *XI.6, *XIV.1234[422],1236,1237)
*btags grol phuṅ po raṅ grol nas zur khol du bkod pa'i btags grol 'khor lo chen mo źes bya ba lag len zin bris* (*VII.1.21)
*btags grol yid bźin nor mchog* (*V.16, VIII.16, X.12.16,=187.16, XIV.1233)
Two 'Das log Manuscripts from the Library of Lha khaṅ Bla ma[423] (XL.4380)
*them byaṅ zin bris* (VII.1.1)
*thabs lam sgom pa'i rnal 'byor* (XX.PTT. 82.60.5.5-61.2.1)
*thabs lam gtum mo sgom pa* (XX.PTT. 82.60.4.6-5.5)
*thugs kyi thigs pa* (XX.PTT. 83.82.1.4-3.6)
*thugs kyi thig pa['i man ṅag]* (XX.PTT. 83.129.4.1-134.1.3)
*thugs kyi thigs pa'i man ṅag* (XXI.14.639-665)
*thos grol chen mo'i skor* (*XL.3557)
Three 'Das log Stories (XL.4293)
*dam chos rdzogs pa chen po'i sku gsum ṅo sprod bar do thos grol gyi cha lag* (*VII.2.23)
*gsaṅ sṅags spyi chiṅs kyi gdams pa zab mo them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi ñams chags gso ba'i skoṅ bśags ñes pa kun sel 'khor ba doṅ sprugs khyad par du 'phags pa* (XXIX.21.253=XXIX.66.203-259)
*them yig med pa'i skor las dam tshig gi ñams chags gso ba'i skoṅ bśags ñes pa kun sel 'khor ba doṅ sprugs dkyil 'khor gyi lde mig gsal ba'i me loṅ* (XXIX.21.254=XXIX.66.261-272)

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[419] Reading: *sprugs*.
[420] Reading: *chags*.
[421] Reading: *por*.
[422] Reading: *las*.
[423] *rgyal ba'i yid 'dzin bzod pa chos kyi dbaṅ phyug* and *karma dbaṅ 'dzin gyi mam thar*.

*dam tshig thams cad kyi ñams chags skoṅ ba'i luṅ lṅa* (XLII.5)
*don brgyud gsol 'debs miṅ tshig raṅ grol* (*IV.2.1)
*don brgyud gsol 'debs miṅ tshig raṅ grol| padma mdo sṅags bstan 'dzin gyis bris pa* (*XIV.1234)
*drag po'i sbyin bsreg gud du bstan pa* (*VII.2.5)
*gdams ṅag mar gyi yaṅ źuṅ gdam pa 'chi kha'i ṅo sprod* (XL.2088)
*bde chen źiṅ gi ro sreg cho ga ṅan soṅ gnas 'dren sdug bsṅal mtsho skem gtan bde rab 'bar* (XL.1205)
*bka' sruṅ dam can sde bdun gyi mdaṅs bskaṅ gdug pa raṅ grol* (*IV.1.26)
*'das log karma dbaṅ ldan gyi rnam thar* (XL.1277)
*'dod chags raṅ grol gyi naṅ nas rigs brgyud bźag thabs daṅ mṅal sgo 'gags thabs khol du byuṅ ba* (VII.3.16)
*rdo rje theg pa sṅags kyi sgo sbyoṅ bdud rtsi rol mtsho* (XLII, p.28, n.26)
*rdo rje theg pa'i chos spyod thun bźi'i rnal 'byor sṅon 'gro raṅ rgyu spyod byed* (*XII.1, cf. *gsaṅ sṅags rdo rje theg pa'i chos spyod thun bźi'i rnal 'byor sems ñid raṅ grol* (*IV.1.1, *VII.1.11, *XIV.1235))
*rdo rje phag mo'i zab khrid las zab lam gtum mo'i ñi ma'i dkyil 'khor* (XLI.MS1233)
*rdo rje phag mo'i zab rgya las khrid yig* (XXIV.27)
*rdo rje'i phag mo'i zab rgya drug gi rtsa rluṅ gnad kyi man ṅag* (XXIV.26)
*rdor sems bsgom bzlas* (XII.20)
*sde bskul* (XII.8)
*spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pa 'das log byaṅ chub seṅge'i dmyal snaṅ śar ba las dge sdig gi śan dbye daṅ gśin rje chos kyi rgyal po'i 'prin yig rgyas pa* (XL.3211)
*lda khrus* (XII.31)
*na rag skoṅ(/bskaṅ) bśags ñams chag(s) raṅ grol gyi cha lag tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro drug raṅ grol* (*XII.29[424], *XIV.1236[425])
*na rag ṅan soṅ daṅ nas sprugs pa'i cho ga bśags 'bum rin chen spuṅs pa* (XL.3798)
*na rag doṅ sprug skoṅ bśags* (XXIX.21.252=XXIX.66.185-201)
*na rag doṅ sprugs* (XLI.372)
*na rag doṅ sprugs kyi khrid yig zab lam snaṅ byed* (XXVIII.1356.II.B.)
*na rag doṅ sprugs kyi cho ga 'khor ba kun sgrol* (XL.0994)
*na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus* (XL.3797)
*na rag doṅ sprugs phyag rgya gcig pa'i rgyun khyer yaṅ zab sñiṅ po* (XL.0093)
*na rag bskaṅ bśags ñams chag raṅ grol gyi cha lag tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro drug raṅ grol* (*IV.2.5, *VII.2.1)
*nā ro'i chos drug gi rtag pa don gyi brgyud pa la gsol 'debs pa tshig ñuṅ ṅur byas pa* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.a)
*nā ro'i chos drug gi dmigs skor lag tu len tshul bsdus pa rje'i gsuṅ pa bźin sems dpa' chen po kun bzaṅ bas bskod pa* (XLI.677b, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)
*paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ po'i gsuṅ 'bum ṅa pa'i dkar chag| nā ro chos drug gi zab khrid gser gyi lde mig* (XLI.395p)
*ni gu chos drug gi khrid yig zab don thad mar brdal ba źes bya ba bklags chog ma* (XLII.14)
*ni gu chos drug rgyas pa khrid yig ye śes mkha' 'gro ma'i źal luṅ* (Mullin, 1982)
no title[426] (XL.3558)
*gnam chos thugs gter sñan brgyud dam pa rigs brgya'i sgrub thabs kyi lhan thabs gson byaṅ źu thabs bsdud pa'o* (XXIX.21.264=XXIX.66.553-560)

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[424] Reading: *chags*.
[425] Reading: *bskaṅ*.
[426] Liturgical collection used in funeral rites.

*(źe dgu ma)*| *rnam śes goṅ du 'pho ba'i rgya cher bśad pa gser gyi sgo byed pa* (XLI.800.o)

*rnal 'byor gyi dbaṅ phyug chen po rje btsun bźad pa rdo rje'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum* (XLI.386)

*gsaṅ sṅags spyi chiṅ gi gdams ṅag zab mo them yig med pa'i skor las: rnal 'byor 'chi brtag bslu ba'i man ṅag bcud len daṅ bcas pa* (XXIX.22.233)

*gnas 'dren 'gro drug raṅ grol 'khrigs su bkod pa* (*IV.1.28, *XIV.1234)

*gnas phyag* (XII.35, XIV.1236)

*gnas luṅ gi cho ga daṅ dbaṅ bskur sogs la ñe bar mkho ba'i zur 'debs phran bu* (*VII.2.8)

*dpal gar gyi dbaṅ phyug gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi (mkha' 'gro'i) 'pho ba'i man ṅag mchog lam yaṅ rtse* XXVI.271[427])

*dpal gar gyi dbaṅ phyug gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i rtsa sṅags kyi rnam bśad mkha' 'gro'i sñiṅ khrag* (XXVI.272)

*bla ma'i rnal 'byor la brten nas lam rim ñams su len pa'i man ṅag byaṅ chub bde lam*| *dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed la bstod pa'i tshig don rnam par bśad pa 'jam dpal źi khro dgyes byed legs bśad gsaṅ ba'i mchod sprin* (XLI.583)

*dpal ldan nā ro chos drug gi khrid tig mchog gi gra chen daṅ gsan spyod zlog sgom gyi khrid yig zil non seṅ ge'i ṅa ro* (not yet located, v. XLII.15)

*dpal nā ro chos drug gi khrid yig yid bźin gyi nor bu* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b[1])

*dpal nā ro pa chen po'i gegs gzer lṅa'i man ṅag* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.m)

*dpal nā ro pa'i chos drug las rtsa ba tsaṇḍā lī daṅ po'i las can rnams kyi bgo skal du rnam par phye ba'i zin ris skal bzaṅ ku mu ta 'dzum pa'i zlą tshes* (XL.1135)

*dpal 'bri guṅ pa'i lags kyi chos drug dril ba'i gdams pa* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.z)

*dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i rgyud kyi khog dbub*[428] (XL.4103)

*dpe'u ris skor* (VII.1.23)

*spyi spuṅs źi khro'i tshogs daṅ mar me brgya rtsar 'bul thabs bcas daṅ 'brug gsas rtsa sgrub kyi cha lag gźan yaṅ mchod bstod sna tshogs bsdus pa* (XL.3756)

*spraṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa'i dmyal ba daṅ bar do'i rnam thar* (XLI.MS1308)

*phag mo zab rgya'i gtum mo ras rkyaṅ gi zin bris mdor bsdus* (XLI.MS1312)

*phuṅ po sreg sbyoṅ gi kha skoṅ* (IV.2.12, XIV.1234)

*phyag 'tshal bsdus pa* (XII.22)

*bka' 'dus sñiṅ po yid bźin nor bu las: phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po źi khro'i las byaṅ rgyud kun sñiṅ khu ṅes don sñiṅ po* (XXIX.20.058=XXIX.4.347-375)

*bka' 'dus sñiṅ po yid bźin nor bu las: phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po źi khro'i las byaṅ gi kha skoṅ ru thuṅ bźi'i bśags pa rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus na rag doṅ sprugs* (XXIX.20.059=XXIX.4.377-395)

*bka' 'dus sñiṅ po yid bźin nor bu las: phyi skor rdzogs pa chen po źi khro'i smin byed ma bug sprad pa ltas chog tu bsdebs pa kun tu bzaṅ po'i khrus chu* (XXIX.20.060=XXIX.4.397-447)

*phra ba'i rnal 'byor* (XX.PTT. 69.215.2.7-3.4)

*phrin bcol(*| *dharma seṅges so)* (XIV.1234)

*bka' sruṅ dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyoṅ kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa raṅ grol* (~*IV.1.17, *VII.3.18)

*bka' sruṅ dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyoṅ kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa raṅ grol gyi las byaṅ* (*XIV.1236)

[427] The bracketed *mkha' 'gro'i*, was added by the authors of the catalogue (Dieter Schuh and Peter Schwieger).

[428] Eleventh-century history of the *gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po*.

*bka' sruṅ dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyoṅ kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa raṅ grol gyi las byaṅ chuṅ ba* (*XII.16, *XIV.1235)

*bka' sruṅ dam can sde bdun gyi phrin las chos skyoṅ kun 'dus dgra bgegs gdug pa raṅ grol gyi las byaṅ chuṅ ba| nam mkha' rgya mtshos sbyar ba* (*XIV.1234)

*(źe dgu ma)| 'pho khrid kyi rtsa tshig brtag pa brgyad pa'i rab tu byed gsum pa* (XLI.800n)

*bde mchog dril bu pa'i bla brgyud gsol 'debs daṅ| dpal 'khor lo bde mchog dril bu lha lṅa'i dbaṅ chog bde chen sñiṅ po| 'pho khrid dpa' bo gyul 'jug gyi lhan thabs zin bris* (XLI.347z)

*'pho bde bas thugs rje'i lcags skyu* (XXIX.20.656)

*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ| 'pho ba* (XXIII.1318.1.y[1])

*bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus 'pho ba skar khuṅ mda' 'phaṅs kyi rim pa* (XLI.MS1029)

*bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las| 'pho ba skar khuṅ mda' 'phaṅs kyi rim pa* (XLI.MS1030)

*bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las 'pho ba skar·khuṅ mda' 'phaṅ lhan thabs gsal byed myur 'gyogs bde chen pho ña bźugs so* (XLI.MS1031)

*'pho ba 'jag tshug ma thar lam gsal la ston* (XLI.MS1313)

*'pho ba dran pa raṅ grol* (Dargyay, 1978, p.199)

*kloṅ chen sñiṅ thig le las 'pho ba ma bsgoms saṅs rgyas* (Dargyay, 1978, pp.199f.)[429]

*gźi snaṅ ye śes sgron me| 'pho ba 'od gsal sñiṅ po* (XXIII.1316.1.r)

*['pho ba'i man ṅag] phag chen 'phrul mdzod* (XXVI.178)

*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ| bar do ṅo sprod* (XXIII.1318.1.m)

*bar do lṅa'i ṅo sprod* (XXV.127)

*bar do 'jigs skyobs ma* (XIII, v. infra *bar do'i smon lam 'jigs skyobs ma*)

*bar do thos grol gyi yaṅ sñiṅ chos spyod bag chags raṅ grol* (XLII.1)

*bar do thos grol gyi gsol 'debs* (XIII.MS1350)

*bar do thos grol gyi gsol 'debs rim ba (*) tshogs raṅ grol* (II.1)

*bar do drug gi rtsa tshig* (IV.2.10)

*ṅes don sñiṅ po| bar do gnad kyi sgron me* (XXIII.1321.1.v)

*bar do('i) spyi'i don thams cad rnam pa gsal bar byed pa dran pa'i me loṅ* (XL.2352/2353, Kunsang 1987, (XLII.11))

*bar do(r) 'phraṅ sgrol gyi smon lam* (I.4a, V.5, VI.7, VIII.3, X.12.3,=19.3,=187.3, *XI.9a[430], XII.47[431], XIV.1233[432])

*bar do 'phraṅ grol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs grol gyi dpa' bo źes bya ba daṅ de'i 'grel ba daṅ bde'i bsil ba ster byed zla zer* (XL.0171)

*bar do 'phreṅ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs kyi 'grel pa gtan bde'i bsil ba ster byed zla zer* (XL.1450)

*bar do 'phraṅ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i rnam bsad paṇ chen dgoṅs rgyan źes bya ba* (XL.1405)

*byaṅ chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khrid thams cad mkhyen par brjod pa'i bde lam gyi lhan thabs nag 'gros su bkod pa| bar do 'phraṅ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i rnam bsad paṇ chen dgoṅs rgyan* (XLI.503)

*bar do 'phraṅ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i 'grel bśad 'khrul snaṅ brag ri 'joms pa'i rdo rje'i thog mda'* (XL.1404)

*bla ma mchod pa bde stoṅ dbyer med ma'i 'don sgrigs tshaṅ lam nor bu daṅ ñe par mkho ba'i chos spyod 'ga' źig phyogs gcig tu bkod pa rgyal ba'i gźuṅ lam| bar do*

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429 In *sñiṅ thig pod gñis* (two volumes) of *gnas chuṅ grva tshaṅ*, Vol.I, p.4ff.

430 The title ends with: *ni*.

431 Reading: *bar dor*.

432 Reading: *bar do'i*.

*'phraṅ sgrol gyi gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol gyi dpa' bo'i 'grel bśad 'khrul snaṅ brag ri 'joms pa'i rdo rje'i thog mda'* (XLI.525)
*ṅes don sñiṅ po| bar do sbubs 'jug* (XXIII.1321.1.u)
*bar do 'od gsal sgron ma* (XXIV.92)
*kun tu bzaṅ po'i dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal gyi bar do raṅ snaṅ gi rgyud* (XXIV.94)
*rdzogs pa chen po kun tu bzaṅ po ye śes gsal kar ston pa'i rgyud phyi ma'i phyi ma| bar do gsaṅ ba phyi ma'i rgyud* (XXII.2624.2.f)
*bar do'i ṅo sprod* (LXI.MS1352)
*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ| bar do'i ṅo sprod* (XXIII.1318.1.g)
*bar do'i chos bśad thos pas rnam grol* (XXIX.21.268=XXIX.66.501-521)
*bar do'i ñams khrid dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi sṅon 'gro raṅ rgyud 'dul byed lhan thabs* (*VII.2.13)
*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ| bar do'i mtshan ñid bśad po daṅ skye gnas rnams kyi rgyu bstan pa* (XXIII.1318.1.i)
*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ| bar do'i gdams pa 'byuṅ ba 'dus pa 'bral ba rtags kyi rim pa* (XXIII.1318.1.j)
*bar do'i rtsa tshig* (I.4b, V.6, VI.6, VIII.4, X.12.4,=19.4,=187.4, XLII.12, XI.9b, XIV.1233)
*rdzogs chen sñiṅ po hūṃ skor las bar do'i ma yig* (XXIX.22.485)
*bar do'i smon lam dgoṅs gcig rgya mtsho* (XIII.MS1352, XLII.23)
*bar do'i smon lam 'jigs skyobs ma* (I.4d, V.8, VI.10, VIII.8, X.12.8,=187.8, XI.9c, XIV.1233)
*bar do'i smon lam rnam gsum* (~I.4, ~II.4, *III.6, ~V.3,4,5,8, ~VI.5,6,7,10, ~VII.3.14, ~VIII.3,4,5,8, ~IX.4, ~X.12.3-5&8,=19.3-5&8,=187.3-5&8, ~XI.9)
*bar do'i lam khyer daṅ sbyar ba'i smon lam* (XL.0072)
*bar do'i gsol 'debs kyi mchan 'grel ñuṅ bsdus thar lam śiṅ rta* (XLII.39)
*bar do'i gsol 'debs thos grol chen mo bklag chog tu bkod pa 'khrul snaṅ raṅ grol* (XLII.7)
*bum bsgrub* (XIV.1234)
*bum dbaṅ bsdus par bskur tshul daṅ śin tu bsdus pa gtor dbaṅ bcas gcig tu sdebs nas 'gros su bkod pa thos tshad raṅ grol* (*XIV.1235)
*bum pa a mri tas bsaṅs* (IV.1.14)
*bum bzlas rgyun khyer* (XII.11)
*bod mi'i 'das mchod* (XL.4299)
*bya brgyud* (XII.45)
*byaṅ sems thigs pa'i man ṅag* (XX.PTT. 57.103.3.3-103.4.5)
*byin 'bebs* (XII.37, XIV.1236)
*bla ma brgyud pa'i phyag 'tshal byin rlabs sprin phuṅ* (*IV.1.23)
*źi khro bla ma brgyud pa'i phyag 'tshal byin rlabs sprin phuṅ| padma ma tis bris pa* (*XIV.1234)
*bla ma 'jam dpal źi khro'i rnal 'byor| bla ma 'jam dpal źi khro'i sa bcad daṅ| de'i zab khrid(?) man ṅag bka'rgya ma'i zin bris| gza' ñi(?) ma mthun(?) gaṅ ma'i ñams len 'khyer bde bcas| 'di rnams la dbaṅ daṅ 'khrid rgyun ma thob pas blta bar mi bya'o* (XLI.527f)
*bla ma rig 'dzin gyi mdoṅs(?) skoṅ(?) rtog sgrib raṅ grol| bu 'bor bkra śis rgya mtshos bcoms* (XIV.1234)
*bla ma'i thugs grub bar chad kun sel gyi bla ma smra ba'i seṅ ge 'jam dpal pha rol rgol 'joms kyi cha lag 'chi ba bslu ba'i cho ga 'chi bdag gdoṅ zlog* (XXIX.22.252)
*bla ma'i thugs grub yaṅ sñiṅ 'dus pa'i bu ddha thod phreṅ gti mug gi ṅo ba sbyoṅ ba rmi lam 'od gsal khrid kyi zur rgyan bltas gsal* (XXIX.20.174)

*rje btsun bla ma rdo rje 'chaṅ thams cad mkhyen pa dbyaṅs can grub pa'i rdo rje dpal bzaṅ po'i źal sṅa nas la rnam thar gyi sgo nas gsol ba 'debs tshul byin rlabs nor bu 'dren pa'i śiṅ rta*| *bla ma daṅ 'jam dpal źi khro dbyer med pa'i rnal 'byor ñams su len tshul dṅos grub gter mdzod* (XLI.246k)

*bla ma'i thugs grub rdo rje drag rtsal las*/ *źal gdams lam rim ye śes sñiṅ po*/ *padma sam bha'i sñiṅ tig go* (XLII, p.28, n.23)

*bram ze duṅ gi phreṅ ba can gyi lo rgyus* (XIV.1236, v. *źi khro na rag bskaṅ bśags las bram ze duṅ phreṅ can gyi lo rgyus zur tsam* (IV.2.14, VII.1.3))

*dbaṅ bskur 'briṅ po 'gro drug raṅ grol* (XLII.p.93, n.68)

*dbaṅ bskur 'briṅ po 'gro drug raṅ grol*| *pad ma gar dbaṅ blo gros mtha yas(?) pa'i sdes(?) sbyar ba* (XIV.1234)

*dbaṅ gi dṅos gźi 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi spros bcas bum dbaṅ chen mo* (*IV.2.6, *VII.1.6)

*dbaṅ gi sta gon sṅon 'gro rin chen sgron ma'i lhan thabs gsal bar bkod pa the tshom raṅ grol* (*VII.2.6, *XXIX.20.051)

*dbaṅ gi sbyin sreg gud du ston pa'i yig chuṅ* (*VII.2.4)

*dbaṅ chuṅ* (XIV.1236)

*dbaṅ ldan źu gi riṅ lugs kyi źi khro'i sgrub skor* (XL.0684/5, collection of 41 "Bon"-texts)

*dbaṅ bsdus (pa)* (*XII.38, XII.43, (XIV.1236))

*dbaṅ bźi 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi rgyud pa'i lo rgyus* (*XIII.MS1445)

*dbaṅ bźi 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi rjes kyi rim pa gsal ba'i me tog(/loṅ)* (*VII.1.10, *XII.40[433], *XIV.1236)

*dbaṅ bźi 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gyi gsaṅ dbaṅ bde chen raṅ grol la sogs dbaṅ goṅ ma gsum gyi zab gsal khyad par can* (~*IV.2.7, *VII.1.7)

*dbaṅ bźi 'phrad tshad raṅ grol gsaṅ dbaṅ bde che na raṅ grol la sogs dbaṅ goṅ ma gsum gyi gsab gsal kyad par can* (*IV.2.7)

*ṅes don sñiṅ po*| *dbyiṅs snaṅ ṅo sprod* (XXIII.1321.1.o)

*dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal gyi man ṅag khug pa lṅa'i gdams pa* (XXIV.90/1-2)

*rdzogs pa chen po sñiṅ thig gi man ṅag khug pa lṅa'i gdams ṅag* (XXIV.91)

*man ṅag sñiṅ gi dgoṅs pa rgyud rdo rje sems dpas gsuṅs pa* (XXIV.96)

*mi pham mgon po la bstod pa'i 'chi slu ma* (XX.PTT.81.289.5.1-8)

*myur lam 'pho ba'i rnal 'byor dpal 'brug pa'i ñams bśes 'jags tshugs ma* (XLI.604)

*thugs grub yaṅ sñiṅ 'dus pa las dmar khrid rigs lṅa las ra tna thod phreṅ mñam ñid phyag rgya chen po'i khrid kyi zur rgyan bltas gsal* (XXIX.20.175)

*bla ma'i thugs grub yaṅ sñiṅ 'dus pa las dmar khrid rigs lṅa'i rdo rje thod phreṅ źe sda gi ṅo bo spyod pa sgyu lus bar do'i khrid gyi zur rgyan bltas chog tu bkod pa* (XXIX.20.173)

*rdor sems thugs kyi sgrub pa'i rmi lam gyi khrid yig zin bris su spel ba ñiṅ 'khrul raṅ grol* (XXIX.20.047)

*ṅes don sñiṅ po*| *rmi lam 'bubs 'jug* (XXIII.1321.1.n)

*smin grol rgyab rten daṅ bcas pa'i brgyud tshul gyi gsol 'debs byin rlabs bdud rtsi'i gru char*| *blo gros rab gsal zla ba dbyaṅs can bdud rtsi'i laṅ tsho'am zur sprul rgyal sras su grags pas bris* (XIV.1236)

*smin byed sgo 'byed dbaṅ skur 'briṅ po 'gro drug raṅ grol la kha skoṅ phyag bźes kyis brgyan pa 'brel tshad raṅ grol* (*IV.2.8, *VII.2.7, *XXIX.20.052)

*smon lam* (XII.25)

*rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab bla sgrub dkon mchog spyi 'dus kyi 'khrid yig gu ru'i dgoṅs rgyan ñin byed sñiṅ po las rdzogs rim khrid yig khams gsum yoṅs grol*| *tshe dpag*

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[433] Reading: *me loṅ*.

*med gnam lcags rdo rje'i cha lag 'chi bslu'i gtor chen 'grigs chags su bkod pa 'chi bdag g-yul zlog* (XLI.648m)

*rtsa kha 'byed pa'i man ṅag* (XX.PTT. 82.60.3.2-6)

*dpal ldan śaṅs pa'i gser chos las| rtsa ba ni gu chos drug gi khrid(?) bsdus stan thog cig ma'i ñams len ye śes rja ki'i źal luṅ* (XXIX.20.234)

*rtsa rluṅ mkha' 'gro gsaṅ mdzod cha tshaṅ daṅ mgur ma byaṅ khrid bcas kyi gsuṅ po* (XL.1429)

*rtsa rluṅ gi sgo nas rnal 'byor gyi spyod pa* (XX.PTT. 69.206.1-8)

*dam tshig bkod pa bźi'i rgyud| rtsa rluṅ thig le'i rgyud 'jam dpal 'dus pa'i rgyud las bsdus pa* (XXII.2626.16b)

*rtsa rluṅ la sogs sgom pa* (XX.PTT. 82.60.3.6-4.6)

*rtsa gsum źi khro spyi'i sgrub pa chen po'i khog dbub khyer bder bkod pa gcig śes kun grol* (XXIX.21.234)

*bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus rtsa gsum źi khro sbrags sgrubs kyi las byaṅ bltas chog tu bkod pa padma'i dgoṅs rgyan* (XL.1083)

*rtsa gsum rab 'byams kyi bskaṅ 'dus rin chen 'bar ba'i phreṅ ba* (XIV.1238)

*rtsa'i rigs 'byuṅ ba'i mdor bsdus chen po* (XX.PTT. 46.183.3.1-186.1.1)

*tshe 'das gnas 'dren 'gro drug raṅ grol* (*XIII.MS1448)

*tshe 'das gnas 'dren bsdus pa* (XIV.1234)

*tshe 'das gnas 'dren bsdus pa thugs rje'i lcags skyu* (XIV.1238)

*tshe dpag med gnam lcags rdo rje'i cha lag 'chi bslu'i gtor chen 'grigs chags su bkod pa 'chi bdag yul zlog* (XXIX.20.602)

*tshe dpag med źi ba lha maṅ gi cho ga 'chi med 'dod pa'i re skoṅ nag gros su bkod pa* (XL.1931)

*tshogs bgags(?)* (XIV.1236)

*tshogs phud* (XIV.1235)

*tshogs las gaṅ rigs la sbyar chog pa'i tshogs bsdus* (IV.1.27)

*mtshams sbyor* (XII.[434] 5,9,12,36,39,44)

*mtsho rgyal gi gsuṅs po'i zab lam yid bźin nor bu źes bya ba rtsa rluṅ gi chos skor* (XXVII.2069.7)

*'dzab dgoṅs sñiṅ po raṅ grol* (*XIV.1234)

*'dzab bzlas tshaṅs pa'i sgra dbyaṅs 'khor 'das raṅ grol* (*XIV.1235)

*'dzab bzlas tshaṅs pa'i sgra dbyaṅs 'khor 'das raṅ grol| bad bstan(?) pas bgyis pa('o)* (*XIV.(1234),1236)

*rdzu 'phrul sgyu ma'i be bum ṅo mtshar stoṅ ldan* (XL.1584)

*rdzogs chen 'khor 'das raṅ grol las btags grol bcaṅs thabs* (VII.3.13)

*kun bzaṅ dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal las rdzogs pa chen po chos ñid mṅon sum źi khro lhun sgrub kyi phrin las* (XXIV.40, XL.2111,2112)

*rdzogs pa chen po kloṅ chen sñiṅ thig gi sṅon 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzaṅ bla ma'i źal luṅ* (XLII, p.28, n.24, Kern 28.236.9, XL.0852, XLI.644)

*rdzogs pa chen po kloṅ chen sñiṅ thig gi sṅon 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzaṅ bla ma'i źal luṅ gi zin bris* (XL.1767)

*rdzogs pa chen po kun tu bzaṅ po ye śes gsal kar ston pa'i rgyud phyi ma'i phyi ma| rdzogs pa chen po bar do gsaṅ ba'i rgyud źes bya ba rdzogs so* (XXII.2624.2.e)

*rdzogs pa chen po rtsa gnas lus kyi 'khor lo* (XXIV.20)

*rdzogs pa chen p<o> źi khro bka' 'dus sñiṅ po'i las byaṅ kun bzaṅ mchog gi myur lam* (Kern 28.542.**)

*rdzogs pa chen po'i rtsa rluṅ gnad kyi gron ma* (XXIV.101)

*rdzogs pa chen po'i ṅo sprod ñi śu rtsa gcig* (XXIV.93)

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[434] All different interludes(?).

*rdzogs rim bar do drug gi yig las ñams khrid dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi daṅ po skye gnas bar do'i khrid yig kun gźi raṅ grol* (*VII.2.14)
*rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi spyi don gñis pa rmi lam bar do'i khrid yig 'khrul pa raṅ grol* (*VII.2.15)
*rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don gsum pa bsam gtan bar do'i khrid yig rig pa raṅ grol* (*VII.2.16)
*rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don bźi pa 'pho ba dran pa raṅ grol 'chi kha bar do'i gdams ṅag* (*VII.2.17)
*rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don lṅa pa chos ñid bar do'i khrid yig mthoṅ ba raṅ grol* (*VII.2.18)
*rdzogs rim bar do drug gi khrid yig spyi don drug pa srid pa bar do'i khrid yig srid pa raṅ grol* (*VII.2.19)
*brdzab (/'dzab) bzlas tshaṅs pa'i sgra dbyaṅs raṅ grol* (*IV.1.12, *XII.13[435])
*bka' brgyad gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gźuṅ*| *źi khro bka' brgyad yoṅs rdzogs kyi dam can dgos su bsgrub pa'i thabs* (XLI.MS1021g)
*źi khro bka' 'dus* by *O rgyan gliṅ pa* (Dargyay, 1977, p.48, n.53)
*źi khro dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi chos skor* (XL.3559)
*źi khro sgo nas phuṅ po bsregs sbyoṅ bya ba'i lag len* (IV.2.11)
*źi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus* (XLI.336b=653,650,653=336b)
*de bźin gśegs pa rnams kyi mtshan brjod bskal bzaṅ rgyan gyi 'phreṅ ba*| *źi khro sgyu 'phrul gyi phyag 'tshal na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus* (XLI.336b)
*źi khro sgrub skor* (Zogai 614/.29, collection of 53 "*Bon*"-texts, v. Karmay (1977), pp.31-36)
*źi khro sgrub skor glegs bam gyi dbu'i rdul len thar lam 'dren byed* (XL.2678, *bon*)
*źi khro ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i chog sgrig(/b)s khrom(s) dkrugs gsal ba'i rgyan źes bya ba klags chog(s) mar bkod pa* (XLI.651[436],=13t[437], XLII.27[438])
*źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po* (XLI.652)
*źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po* (XL.3505)
*yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po mṅon rtogs* (XLI.MS1460)
*yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i phyag len chog sgrigs bklags chog tu bkod pa 'ja' tshon dgoṅs pa rgyan* (XL.1399)
*yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus daṅ de'i cha lag źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i las byaṅ don gsal khyer bder bsgrigs pa padma'i dgoṅs brgyan* (XL.1079/1083)
*źi khro 'dus pa'i tshogs mchod* (XIV.1235)
*źi khro 'dus pa'i las byaṅ rtsar(/l) 'phreṅ tshor ba raṅ grol* (*IV.1.6, *VII.1.14, *XII.6[439], *XIV.1235,1236)
*źi khro na rag bskaṅ bśags las bram ze duṅ phreṅ can gyi lo rgyus zur tsam* (IV.2.14, VII.1.3)
*źi khro na rag doṅ sprug gi skoṅ bśags thugs rje'i zla 'od* (XXIX.20.070=XXIX.5.153-187)
*źi khro na rag doṅ sprug gi dbaṅ chog bdud rtsi'i gaṅ gā* (XXIX.20.077= XXIX.5.189-213)
*źi khro na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus 'gyod tshaṅs kyi cho ga dri med bśags rgyud* (XL.1827, Kern 28.542.40)

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435 Reading: *'dzab*.
436 Reading: *sgrigs khrom*.
437 Reading: *sgrigs khroms* (in Nebesky-Wojkowitz-catalogue only).
438 Reading: *sgribs khrom*.
439 Reading: *rtsal*.

*rdo rje sems dpa' thugs kyi sgrub pa las gsuṅs pa'i źi khro na rag doṅ sprugs thabs* (XXIX.20.069=XXIX.5.119-151)

*źi khro na rag doṅ sprugs rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus 'gyod tshaṅs kyi cho ga dri med bźags rgyud* (XLII.10)

*źi khro rab 'byams kyi bsñen sgrub kyi dmigs rim grub mchog źal luṅ bzaṅ po* (XXIV.42)

*bka' brgyad gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gźuṅ| źi khro yoṅs rdzogs kyi byin sreg* (XLI.MS1021ii)

*bka' brgyad gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gźuṅ| źi khro yoṅs rdzogs sgo nas ro bsreg sbyaṅ* (XLI.MS1021jj)

*yaṅ tig ye śes mthoṅ grol las źi khro raṅ gsal gyi phrin las bklags chog mar bkod pa* (XL.3189)

*kun bzaṅ dgoṅs pa kun 'dus las| źi khro gsaṅ kyi las byaṅ khyer bder dril ba rin chen sgron me* (XXIX.22.497)

*kun bzaṅ dgoṅs pa kun 'dus las| źi khro gsaṅ ba 'dus pa'i las byaṅ padma'i 'phreṅ ba* (XLI.4)

*źi khro'i kloṅ bśags brjod pa raṅ grol* (*I.8, *III.4, *IV.1.24, *V.15, *VI.13, *VII.1.19, *VIII.15, *X.12.15, *XI.2=XIV.1237, *XII.23, *XIII.665, *XIV.1233,1236,1237=XI.2,1238)

*źi khro'i kloṅ bśags ñams chag raṅ grol gyi cha rkyen(?) gyi bskaṅ(?) bsdus| blo gros rgyal mtshan gyis so* (XIV.1234)

*źi khro'i bka' sruṅs dam can sde bdun gyi 'phris chos skyoṅ kun 'dus dgregs(?) bdug pa raṅ grol gyi las byaṅ chuṅ ba* (XIII.MS1438)

*grol tig dgoṅs pa raṅ grol gyi chos sde| źi khro'i bskyed rdzogs kyi phrin las khrigs su bsdebs pa 'od gsal sñiṅ po* (XXIX.20.057=XXIX.4.283-346)

*źi khro'i sgo nas phuṅ po bsreg sbyoṅ bya ba'i lag len* (XIV.1234)

*źi khro'i sgom rim chuṅ ba lhan skyes raṅ grol* (IV.1.10, XLI.654)

*kun bzaṅ dgoṅs pa kun 'dus źi khro'i chog gźuṅ gsol 'debs byin brlabs chu rgyun* (XLI.3)

*kun bzaṅ dgoṅs pa kun 'dus las źi khro'i bdag dbaṅ* (IV.1.15, XIV.1234)

*źi khro'i mdun bskyed śin tu bsdus pa snod bcud raṅ grol* (IV.1.11, XIV.1234)

*rdzogs pa chen po lta ba kloṅ yaṅs las| źi khro'i dbaṅ bskur śin tu bsdus pa gtor dbaṅ phra thig sgrub thabs bcas gźan phan kloṅ yaṅs* (XXIX.22.481)

*źi khro'i phyag 'tshal bsdus pa* (IV.1.22, VII.1.18)

*rdzogs chen lta ba kloṅ yaṅs las| źi khro'i tshe sgrub 'od zer drwa ba'i phrin las lhan thabs kyis brgyan pa 'chi med 'od zer* (XXIX.20.585)

*rdzogs chen lta ba kloṅ yaṅs las| źi khro'i tshe sgrub 'od zer drwa ba'i tshe dbaṅ rin chen 'khor lo bklags chog tu bsdebs pa bdud rtsi'i 'od zer* (XXIX.20.586)

*źi khro'i las byaṅ mchod pa'i skabs su mtshan sṅags khā hi bsdus pa* (IV.1.8)

*źi khror dgyes pa dzaṅ bha la'i sgrub thabs* (XX.PTT.81.48.4.7-49.1.2)

*bka' brgyad gsaṅ ba yoṅs rdzogs kyi a ti'i don khrid kyi gźuṅ| źi ba dam pa rigs brgya'i sgrub thabs* (XLI.MS1021u)

*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ| źi ba bar do lam gyi mtshan ñid* (XXIII.1318.1.h)

*źi ba'i sbyin bsreg gud du bstan pa'i yig chuṅ* (VII.2.2)

*źi ba'i lha'i rnam par thar ba rin chen phreṅ ba* (XL.1053)

*źi byed skor bdun gyi las tshogs sbyin sreg| bya bas khrus| byad(?) dkyil| 'chi bslu rnams gsal bar bkod pa mu tig chun po* (XXIX.22.071)

*źiṅ khams sṅa'i smon lam thos pa raṅ grol* (XLII.3)

*gźi sku gsum gyi rnam bźag rab gsal sgron me* (XL.0696)

*bźugs bzaṅ bad tshal 'byed pa'i bsten yig dri bzaṅ ṅan ldan kun tu bzaṅ po'i źal ṅo| kun bzaṅ phan gyis bgyis* (*XIV.1236)

*zab bdun rgyud zab sgyu sprul las| zaṅs byaṅ ma'i chos sde khro bo dam pa rgyan gyi dkyil 'khor du dbaṅ bskur ba'i cho ga rgyud luṅ sñiṅ po* (XXIX.20.068)
*zab bdun rgyud zab sgyu sprul las| zaṅs byaṅ ma'i chos sde rdor sems źi ba bźi bcu rtsa gñis kyi dkyil 'khor du dbaṅ bskur ba'i cho ga ṅo mtshar sñiṅ po* (XXIX.20.066)
*zab bskul* (XII.10)
*zab chos źi khro ṅes don sñiṅ po'i sgo nas raṅ (daṅ) gźan gyi don mchog tu sgrub pa'i las(/m) rim 'khor (/'tshol) ba'i mun gźoms kun bzaṅ thugs rje'i snaṅ mdzod* (XLI.667[440], XLII.9, private copy[441], XL.1416)
*zab chos źi khro dgoṅs pa raṅ grol chos skor* (XL.3556)
*zab mo nā ro'i chos drug gi ñams len thun chos bdud rtsi ñiṅ khu źes bya ba sgrub brgyud karma kam tshaṅ gi don khrid* (XL.3258, v.XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, and XLII.13)
*zab mo nā ro chos drug gi ñams len thun chos bdud rtsi'i ñiṅ khu źes bya ba sgrub brgyud karma khaṃ tshaṅ gi don khrid* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.j, v. XLII.13, and XL.3258)
*ṅes don sñiṅ po| zab lam bde chen rgya mtsho* (XXIII.1321.1.h)
*zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa* (Dargyay, 1978 (1977)[442])
*zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi sgo nas 'khrid pa'i rim pa yid ches gsum ldan* (XL.2617, XLI.677a, PTT.160.208.3.3-161.13.2.8, IASWR.LMpj.021.009.9)
*zab lam nā ro'i chos drug gi gsal byed spyi chiṅs khrid yig daṅ bcas pa| karma pa raṅ byuṅ rdo rjes mdzad pa'i chos drug gser źun mar grags so* (XXVIII.1361.II.B.2.b)
*yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa skar khuṅ mda' phaṅ* (XLI.MS1459)
*zab lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa 'jag tshugs ma'i lo rgyus gdams ṅag khrid yig daṅ bcas pa bźugs so|| ñi zla saṅs rgyas gter byon* (XXIX.20.655)
*sñan rgyud gsaṅ ba'i mthar thug las zab lam 'pho ba'i gdam pa sñiṅ gi thig le* (Evans-Wentz, 1958)
*zas bsṅo* (XII.41)
*'og sgo bde chen 'dod chags raṅ grol gyis ñams khrid gud du bkol ba don bsdus zab khrid bde ba raṅ grol* (VII.3.17)
*'og sgo bde ba chen po'i khrid 'dod chags raṅ grol* (VII.3.15)
*rje btsun bla ma dgoṅs can grub pa'i rdo rje'i bka' 'bum ga pa'i dkar chag| 'od dpag med kyi 'pho ba bka' rgya ma'i bka' zin* (XLI.242bb)
*źus len bdud rtsi gser phreṅ| 'od gsal* (XXIII.1318.1.n)
*ṅes don sñiṅ po| 'od gsal 'khor lo* (XXIII.1321.1.i)
*ṅes don sñiṅ po| 'od gsal phra khrid* (XXIII.1321.1.q)
*ṅes don sñiṅ po| 'od gsal 'bubs 'jug* (XXIII.1321.1.k)
*kun bzaṅ thugs gter las| yaṅ dag źi khro phur gsum gyi phrin las byaṅ(?) bu(?) grub gñis nor bu rgya mtsho* (XXIX.20.856)
*kun bzaṅ thugs gter las yaṅ dag źi khro phur gsum gyi dbaṅ gi cho ga grub gñis bdud rtsi'i rgyun 'bebs* (XXIX.20.857)
*rdor sems thugs kyi sgrub pa'i yan lag zab lam 'pho ba'i man ṅag gi zin bris kun bzaṅ myur lam* (XXIX.20.049)
*yi ge drug pa'i rgyud kyi rim pas dkyil 'khor lo bstan pa'i sgrub thabs* (XX.PTT. 79.135.4.1-136.3.8)
*yi dam spyi yi byaṅ chog śi śog gson śog gaṅ byed kyaṅ 'brel tshad don ldan bde chen źiṅ gi lam bzaṅ* (XXIX.21.265=XXIX.66.535-551)

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[440] Only in the title-description *dan* is left out and *'khor ba* is replaced by *'tshol ba*.
[441] Only this BP. distinctly has *lam*.
[442] By *rJe tshoṅ kha pa*, folios 41vff., Gangtok (1972).

*yaṅ gsaṅ bla na med pa rdzogs pa chen po rig pa ye śes raṅ gsal ba'i rgyud* (XXIV.83)
*raṅ lus rtsa yi 'khor lo* (XX.PTT. 82.61.2.1-7)
*rig pa ṅo sprod gcer mthoṅ raṅ grol* (*II.9, *IV.2.2, *V.10, *VI.14, *VII.2.22, *VIII.10, *X.12.10,=187.10, *XIII.666, *XIV.1233)
*rig pa raṅ śar chen po rgyud* (Rangdröl, 1989, p.29, n.2; in *rgyud'bum* Khyentse-edition)
*rig 'dzin padma gliṅ pa'i bka' 'bum yid bźin gter mdzod* (XLII, p.28. n.25)
*rigs brgyud sprul sku bźag thabs 'dod chags lam 'khyer* (*XIII.MS1449)
*rdzogs pa chen po dgoṅs pa zaṅ thal las rigs drug 'khor ba gnas 'dren* (XXIV.43)
*rigs drug thar pa chen po'i mdo gzuṅs| thos grol bar do 'phraṅ grol chen po| skye sgo gcod pa'i mdo* (XL.2144, *bon*)
*rigs drug gnas 'dren* (*IV.2.16)
*rig[s] drug gnas 'dren ñuṅ bsdus sgrigs chags* (*XIV.1235)
*rigs drug gnas 'dren| padma rig 'dzin gyis bkod pa* (*XIV.1234,1236)
*rigs drug gnas 'dren bsdus pa* (*XII.42)
*riṅ tshe'i cho ga sgrub pa'i rnam par bźag pa 'chi bdag slu ba'i rtog pa'i don 'grel tshe dbaṅ dga' ba 'khyil ba'i thig le* (XXIX.20.268)
Rituals from the dKon mchog spyi 'dus and Źi khro Cycles (XL.3502)
*rim pa lṅa pa* (XX.PTT. 61.288.3.7-293.5.1)
*rim pa lṅa pa'i dka 'grel* (XX.PTT. 62.149.1.1-153.5.2 (comm. untill 62.163.5.1.1))
*rim lam daṅ 'chi ltas 'ja' tshon sgra byuṅ ba'i ltas bcas la brtag pa byed tshul skyes pa daṅ bud med mi dpyad brtag pa bya rog skad bcas la brtag pa bya tshul rnam par gsal ba'i me loṅ* (XL.1337)
*ro bsreg gi cho ga* (XX.PTT. 79.131.2.7-3.8)
*ro sreg gi cho ga ye śes 'od 'bar| ka ma la tis bris pa* (XIV.1236)
*lam khyer gyi chos gsum* (XX.PTT. 82.46.1.8-5.1)
*las bum sgrub pa'i cho ga dag gyid(?) chu rgyun* (XIV.1234)
*las bum bsad sbyaṅ* (IV.1.5)
*bka' rdzogs pa chen po yaṅ zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus kyi las byaṅ khrigs su bkod pa 'khrul med rab gsal dṅos grub mchog ster* (XLII.38)
*bka' sruṅ dam can sde bdun gyi las byaṅ dgra bgegs gdug pa raṅ grol* (*IV.1.17)
*las byaṅ chuṅ ba tshor ba raṅ grol (gyi) sñiṅ po* (*IV.2.2, *VII.1.15, *XIV.1234,1238[443], *XXIX.20.050)
*las byaṅ bsdus pa* (XIV.1235)
*las byaṅ tshor ba raṅ grol sñiṅ po* (*XII.7, *XIV.1235(2x),1236)
*las byaṅ rtsa phreṅ tshor ba raṅ grol* (*IV.1.6, *XIV.1234)
*luṅ bstan bka' rgya (*(raṅ grol) daṅ thugs rje chen po padma źi khro las* VII.1.24)
*rluṅ 'khrugs 'bum gyi yaṅ sñiṅ gśin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog źags dug gi 'khor lo* (XXIX.85.37-43)
*rluṅ 'khrugs 'bum gyi yaṅ sñiṅ gśin rje'i srog sgrub me yi spu gri glog źags dug gi 'khor lo'i dpe bris bca' gźi'i śog khra yod* (XXIX.85.45-50)
*ṅes don sñiṅ po| rluṅ drug rdo rje'i chiṅs* (XXIII.1321.1.f)
*ṅes don sñiṅ po| rluṅ sbyor ye śes drwa ba* (XXIII.1321.1.g)
*śi ba'i sems can sdig pa las thar bar byed pa'i ro bsreg pa'i cho ga dug sbyoṅ gsal ba'ime loṅ* (XX.PTT. 79.242.1.2-4.5)
*gśin gyi cho ga* (XX.PTT. 56.222.3.1-103.4.5)
*gśin gyi cho ga* (XX.PTT. 86.38.2.5-39.1.1)
*gśin chog* (XII.14)

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443 Reading: *gyi*.

*gśin po rjes su 'dzin pa'i cho ga thar pa'i myur lam* (XXIX.21.263=XXIX.66.523-533)
*śel rdo ṅo sprod mthoṅ ba raṅ grol źes bya ba bar do thos grol gyi cha lag* (VII.3.2)
*sa bcad lde mig raṅ grol* (*VII.2.10)
*sā tstsha'i 'debs pa'i gsal byed legs tshogs lhun grub| za hor gyi bandes bris pa* (XIV.1236)
*saṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa' rnams la ra mda'(/r) sg(/b)ran pa'i smon lam* (V.3, VI.5[444], VIII.3, X.12.3,=19.3,=187.3, XIV.1233)
*saṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa' rnams ra mda'(/r) sbraṅ pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa raṅ grol daṅ bar do'i rtsa tshig daṅ bar do 'phraṅ grol daṅ bar do 'jigs skyobs ma bcas(/rnams)* (*I.4, *II.4, *III.6, *XIV.1234,1236[445], 1237[446])
*saṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa' rnams ra mda' sbraṅ pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa raṅ grol daṅ bar do 'jigs skyobs ma rnams* (*XIV.1235)
*saṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa' rnams ra mda' spraṅ pa'i smon lam 'jigs pa raṅ grol daṅ bar do'i rtsa tshig daṅ bar do 'jigs skyobs ma bcas* (*XI.9)
*srid pa bar do'i gde sdig raṅ gzugs bstan pa'i gdams pa srid pa bar do raṅ grol* (*VI.17, *VIII.11, *X.12.11,=187.11)
*srid pa bar do'i dge sdig raṅ gzugs bstan pa'i lhan thabs* (*V.12, *VI.18, *X.12.11,=187.11, *XIV.1233)
*bar do thos grol chen mo las <u>srid pa bar do'i ṅo sprod</u>* (V.6, VI.8, VIII.6, X.12.6, XIV.1233)
*srid pa bar do'i ṅo sprod kyi lhan thabs dbyaṅ sñan lha'i gandhe* (~*VI.18, *VII.3.7)
*srid pa bar do'i ṅo sprod gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo* (*I.3, *II.3, *III.3, ~V.6, ~VI.8, *VII.3.6, *VIII.6, *IX.3, *XI.5, *XIV.1237)
*slob dpon padma mdzad pa'i rgyud sde bźi'i yaṅ sñiṅ ** bde gśegs źi khro'i sñiṅ khrag gcig tu bsdus pa mtshon sruṅ rdo rje'i go khrab(/ṅ?) rgyun thuṅ(b?) sruṅ ba'i rgyal po'i bri rgyun zab pa'i mthar thug* (XXIX.22.103)
*gsaṅ sṅags rdo rje theg pa'i chos spyod thun bźi'i rnal 'byor sems ñid raṅ grol* (*IV.1.1, *VII.1.12, *XIV.1235)
*gsaṅ sṅags rdo rje theg pa'i chos spyod thun bźi'i rnal 'byor sems ñid raṅ grol| chos rje gliṅ pa'i źal gdams gu ru sūrya candra ra smin yi ger 'god* (*XIV.1234)
*gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgo nas 'chi blu ba'i cho ga srog gi bcud len* (XXVI.151)
*gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgo nas rigs drug gnas 'dren gyi cho ga* (XXVI.149)
*gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i gnas luṅ gi cho ga'i rnam bśad mkha' spyod snaṅ ba'i mdzes rgyan* (XXVI.153)
*gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi mkha' 'gro'i phrin las kyi le lag gsal 'debs daṅ pho ba'i man ṅag gi gsal byed gtan gyi lam grogs* (XXVI.235)
*gsaṅ ba ye śes kyi gnas luṅ gi cho ga'i ṅag 'don mkha' spyod snaṅ ba* (XXVI.154)
*dpal <u>gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po phyi ma</u>* (XXI.14.62-67)
*gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa* (XX.PTT.10.36.3.7-77.3.7)
*gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa* (XXI.14.1-61)
*gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa* (XXI.14.67-317)
*gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa| sgyu 'phrul brgyad pa źes bya ba'i rgyud* (XXI.14.549-571)
*dpal <u>gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa('i) rgya cher bśad pa'i 'grel pa</u>* (XX.PTT.83.1.1.1-70.3.7)
*gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa'i sgyu 'phrul dr(v)a ba bla ma chen po* (XXI.14.572-639)

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[444] Reading: *mdar sbran*.
[445] Reading: *rnams*.
[446] Reading: *mdar*.

*gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa'i bla ma chen po* (XX.PTT.10.98.2.5-108.4.8)
*'phags pa rtogs pa'i rgyal po| sgyu 'phrul dr(v)a ba le'u stoṅ phrag brgya pa las| mtshan ñid daṅ rgyud thams cad luṅ gi spyad pa| de bźin gṅegs pa thams cad kyi gsaṅ ba| gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa'i le'u las| sgyu 'phrul le lhag* (XXI.14.415-549)
*dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid rnam par ṅes pa* (XX.PTT.10.1.1.3-9.4.3)
*dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i don bsdus 'grel piṇḍārtha* (XX.PTT.83.177.1.1-188.4.6)
*dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po'i rim pa gñis kyi don(/ṅ?)* (XX.PTT.83.262.2.4-3.6)
*dpal gsaṅ ba'i sñiṅ po de kho na ñid ṅes pa* (XXI.14.317-415)
*gsaṅ ba'i thigs pa* (XX.PTT. 83.82.3.6-5.1)
*gsaṅ ba'i thigs pa'i man ṅag gi 'grel pa* (XX.PTT. 83.255.2.5-259.1.2)
*gsaṅ ba'i man ṅag 'jam pa'i thigs* (XX.PTT.83.253.2.5-255.2.5)
*gsaṅ ye daṅ 'brel ba'i pho ba bklags chog ma* (XXVI.236)
*gsaṅ ye'i le lag kha 'bar ma dkar nag khra gsum la brten nas 'chi blu byad bzlog mi kha sel ba'i man ṅag rdo rje'i 'gro phan* (XXVI.247)
*gsaṅ lam 'pho ba'i gdams pa las tshe 'das rnam śes spar ba'i dmigs pa* (Evans-Wentz 1958)
*gsol 'debs sku gsum kloṅ yaṅs raṅ grol* (*IV.1.2, *VII.2.11, *XIII.MS1444, *XIV.1235, *XLI.661)
*bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor gyi rtsa tshig rnams*[447] (XL.3169)
*bsre 'pho'i 'khrul 'khor spyi'i sṅon rjes kyi rim pa rnams kyi zin bris brjed byaṅ blo dman dga' bskyed*[448] (XL.3170)
*śam ze duṅ gi phreṅ ba can gyi lo rgyus* (XII.33)
*sems kyi thig le hūṃ ñid bsgom pa'i rim pa* (XX.PTT. 69.208.1.8-2.8)
*hūṃ yig sems ñid thig le bsgom pa'i rim pa* (XX.PTT. 69.208.4.4-5.6)
*hor bla mu khri yid bźin rgyal ba'i lugs sam hor lugs kyi źi khro'i sgrub skor* (XL.1071/1072, collection of 51 "Bon"-texts)
*lhag ma* (XIV.1238)
*o rgyan rin po che'i gter ston luṅ bstan daṅ khuṅ btsun pa bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa rnams* (VII.1.4)

[447] *Nā ro'i chos drug.*
[448] *Nā ro'i chos drug.*

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